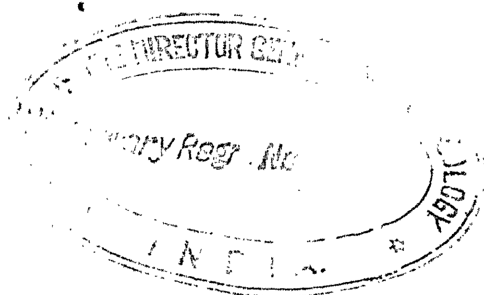


THE

ASHṬÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁṆINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH



BY

ŚRÍŚA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.

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TO THE

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION

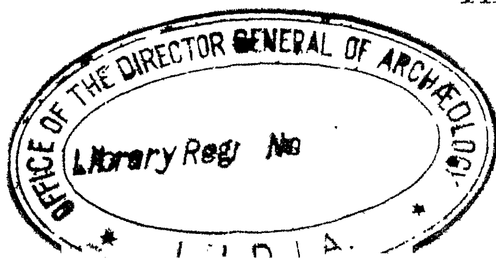
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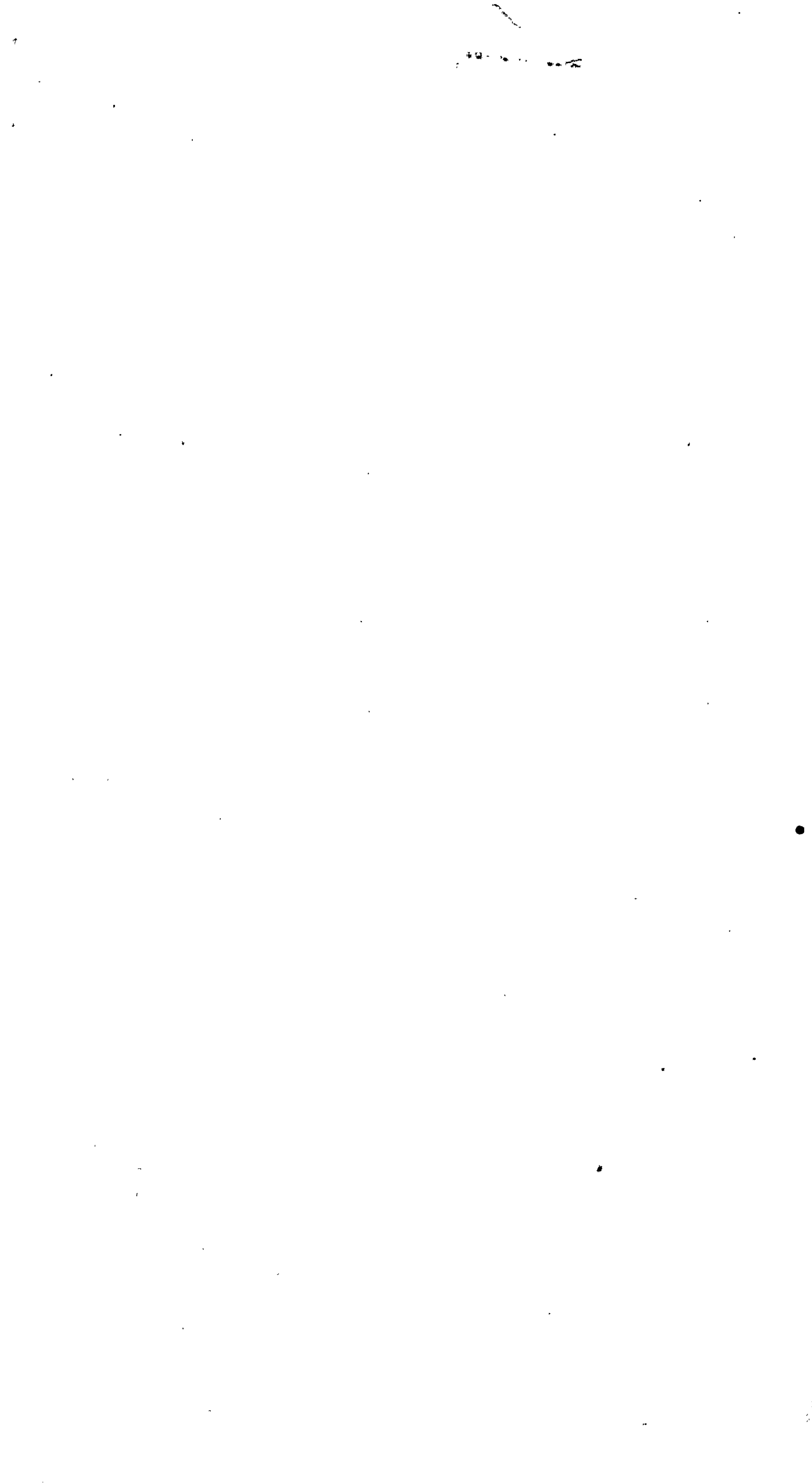
THESE PROVINCES,

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the doubt, whether the pratyâhäras अण् and उण् when they are employed in Pâṇini's Grammar are formed with the ण् of the former or with the ण् of the latter sûtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pâṇini intended to denote by अण् and इण् when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhâshâ :—

"The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must nevertheless teach something definite."

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अण् except in Sutra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the ण् of the first sûtra and that the term इण् is formed by means of the ण् of the subsequent sûtra.

——:o:——

THE

ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

ओ३म् परमात्मने नमः

Salutation to the Supreme Spirit.

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् ॥

Now an explanation of words.

The term अथ "now" in the sûtra indicates a commencement, and points out that a dissertation is to be offered on the science of words, viz. Grammar and Philology. The term अनुशासन means explanation of any system. This is an अधिकार sûtra, and introduces the subject.

An aphorism or sûtra is of six kinds, संज्ञा or 'a definition,' परिभाषा or the 'key to interpretation,' विधि or 'the statement of a general rule,' नियम or 'a restrictive rule,' अधिकार or 'a head or governing rule, which exerts a directing or governing influence over other rules,' and अतिदेश or 'extended application by analogy.'

The Pratyâhâra Sûtras.

अइउण् । ऋलृक् । एओङ् । ऐऔच् । हयवरट् । लण् । ञमङणनम् । झभञ् । घढधष् । जबगडदश् । खफछठथचटतव् । कपय् । शषसर् । हल् ॥

The above fourteen aphorisms contain the arrangement of Sanskrit alphabets for grammatical purposes. The anusvâra and the visarga, the jihvâ-mulîya and the upadh mâniya are not contained in the above list. The final अ in the consonants ह, य &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. The final pure consonants in the several aphorisms as ण्, क्, ङ् &c., are non efficient or इत्. The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and formed by taking any letter which is not a non-efficient letter and joining it with any non-efficient letter that follows it. This gives a name which stands for the former non-efficient letter and for all the other letters intervening between it and the non-efficient letter. Thus अच् means all the vowels, हल् means all the consonants, जश् means all soft unaspirate consonants, चर् means all hard unaspirate consonants. Though numerous pratyâhâras could be formed, practically however, there are only 42 pratyâhâras ; as given below:—

एङ् । यञ् । अण् । छव् । अट् ॥ झष् । भष् ॥ अक् । इक् । उक् ॥ अण् । इण् । यण् ॥ अम् । यम् । ङम् ॥ अच् । इच् । एच् ॥ ऐच् । यय् । मय् । झय् । खय् ॥ यर् । झर् । खर् । चर् । शर् ॥ अश् । हश् । वश् । झश् । जश् । बश् ॥ अल् । हल् । वल् । रल् । झल् । शल् ॥

The same letter ण् is made use of as अनुबन्ध or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sûtra लण् and in the first अ इ उण्. There arises consequently

ecessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of tudying the Kâsikâ in the original.

The *Ashṭâdhyâyî*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashṭa dhyâyas*, *i. e.*, eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *das* or chapters. It has thus been found suitable to publish the work in 32 rts without causing any inconvenience to the reader. The complete work ll cover about 2,000 pages Royal Octavo. The task of translating, printing d publishing such an enormous work will entail great labour and expense. e are, therefore, forced to appeal to the generous public for their patronage, that this undertaking may be brought to a successful termination.

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Pânini Office
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THE PUBLISHER.

PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that ha followed in its train, and especially since the foundations of the Ar Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revi of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest philo phies and religions of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually tu ing out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the st of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowle of the immortal literature of this ancient language. Very few of them, h ever, have the opportunity of studying the language with that depth and fuln with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To p perly understand Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in wh are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *viz.*, Vedas, the Brâhmanas, the Upanishads &c, it is absolutely necessary to h a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pâṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangem it ought to be an object of study with every one who wants to cultivate intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done tow the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashṭâdhyâyî of Pâ has fulfilled the same purpose in India. No one who has studied this b can refrain from praising it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sans savants of the west. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar:—" The Grammatical system borated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who tested Pâṇini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight boo Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and for that vast majority of English-reading gentlemen, whose number is dai the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in S krit books, on English translation of Sanskrit authors, no translation of important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undert to translate Pâṇini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known comment called the Kâsikâ. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of Kâs it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it wh

ओ३म्

पाणिनीयव्याकरणसूत्रवृत्तिः॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER FIRST.

वृद्धिरादैच् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, आत्-ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमादैचां वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्भावितानामतद्भावितानांच ॥

1. आ, ऐ and औ are called v*r*iddhi.

This defines the word vṛiddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛiddhi ett... The sûtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, ât and aich. आत् means th...g आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyâhâra aich, and the pratyâhâra ऐच् means the letters ऐ and औ.

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very ...rm आ having two mâtrâs or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also ...ins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) or that which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken ... having two mâtrâs only, though they may be the result of the combination of ...wels whose aggregate mâtrâs may be more than two. A short vowel has one ...âtrâ, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mâtrâ. Thus by a ...le of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ + आ = आ, as महा + आशयः = ...ाशयः. Here हा has two mâtrâs and not four. So also in खट्वैडकः the vowel the resultant of आ + ऐ has only two, not four, mâtrâs.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns vṛiddhi forms of their primitive vowels. आङ्गः "bodily", from अङ्गः; 'body' ...इकः "optional", from इच्छा "option"; औपगवः "the son of Upagu", from the ...d उपगुः meaning "a sage called Upagu." Similarly in शालीयः "belonging to house" the आ is radical, and is also called vṛiddhi. The word vṛiddhi ...urs in sûtras like सिचिवृद्धिःपरस्मैपदेषु (VII. 2. 1.) "Let the final इक् of the ...e get vṛiddhi substitute before the affix सिच् of the Parasmaipada".

अदेङ् गुणः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्-एङ्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमदेङां वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्भावितानामतद्भावितानाञ्च ॥

2. अ, ए and ओ are called gu*n*a.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary ...called a guṇa letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—अर्त्ति, "he

moves"; एति "he comes", ओखति "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots ऋ, इ, and उख् have been respectively gunated into अर्, ए, and ओ before the third person singular termination ति.

The term Guna occurs in sûtras like मिदेर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82). "Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root मिद् "to melt."

इको गुणवृद्धी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि॥ इकः । गुण-वृद्धी, (वृद्धिः, गुणः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिगुणौ स्वसंज्ञया (वृद्ध्या गुणेन वा) शिष्यमाणाविक एव स्थाने वेदितव्यौ ॥

3. In the absence of any special rule, whenever gu*n*a or v*r*iddhi is enjoined about any expression by using the terms gu*n*a or v*r*iddhi, it is to be understood to come in the room of the ik vowels only (i, u, *r*i, and *l*i long and short,) of that expression.

This is a paribhâshâ sûtra, and is useful in determining the original letters, in the place of which the substitute guṇa and vṛiddhi letters will come. The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular rule.

Thus sûtra VII. 3. 84 declares:—"when a sârvadhâtuka or an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is guṇa of the base." Here the sthâni or the original expression which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "ikaḥ" must be read into the sûtra. The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base." The guṇa of इ or ई is ए; of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of ऋ or ॠ is अर्, of ऌ is अल्; and their Vṛddhi is ऐ, औ, आर् and आल् respectively. Thus नी+अति= ने+अति=नयति "he leads."

Therefore, wherever in any rule in this Grammar, guṇa or vṛiddhi is ordained by employing the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, there the word "ikaḥ" in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of ik", is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The word 'ik' is thus understood in the following rules, and is there qualified by the term अङ्ग or 'base':—मिदेर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82) मृजेर्वृद्धिः (VII. 2. 114) पुगन्तलघूपध &c., (VII. 3. 86); ऋच्छत्यृताम् (VII. 4.11) ऋदृशोऽङि गुणः (VII. 4.16) स्थूलदूरयुव &c., (VI. 4. 156).

In the following sûtras, the term 'ik' is understood and qualifies the word ânga or base, जुसि च (VII. 3, 83), सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः (VII. 3, 84).

These sûtras will be explained in their proper places.

The word 'ik' has been used in the sûtra to show that the long आ, एच् or the diphthongs and हल् or the consonants, are not to take guṇa or vṛiddhi by this

rule, as in the following examples यानम् "a carriage", ग्लायति "he feels aversion," उम्भिता "confined."

Here ग्लायति is formed by adding the affix तिप्, third person singular termination, with the class a affix शप्, to the root ग्लै; as ग्लै+शप्+तिप्=ग्लै+अ+ति. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base before the sârvadhâtuka termination अ; the guṇa substitute of ऐ being ए, there would be ग्ले+अति=ग्लयति. But this is wrong, the letter ऐ, being not included in the pratyâhâra ik, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no guṇa substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long आ of यानम्. Thus या + ल्युट् (III. 3. 115)=यानम् (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been guṇa by Rule VII. 3. 84, the आ of या, would have been changed into अ, and the form would have been यनम् which is wrong. But it is not so, as आ is not an इक् vowel. So also उम्भ् + इता = उम्भिता. Here, there is no guṇa substitution in the place of the consonant भ्.

The repetition of the words guṇa and vṛiddhi in this sûtra, (though by अनुवृत्ति or the supplying of a word from the previous sûtra, these words followed from the two preceding sutras) is for the purpose of indicating that, this is a restrictive rule applicable only there, where guṇa or vṛiddhi has been ordained by the employment of the words guṇa or vṛiddhi. Therefore, it is not so in the following cases:—द्यौः "sky", पन्थाः "way" सः "he," इमम् "this." द्यौः is the nominative singular of the base दिव्. It is formed by rule VII. 1. 84, which declares that "in the nominative singular the letter औ takes the place of दिव्." Here the letter औ is no doubt a vṛiddhi letter, but as this substitution is not enjoined by the enunciation of the term vṛiddhi, औ does not take the place of the vowel इ of दिव्, but it replaces the final व्. Thus दि+औ+स्=द्यौः.

Similarly rule VII. 1. 85, declares that of the word पथिन्, आ is the substitute. The आ is a vṛiddhi letter no doubt, but not being enunciated by the term vṛiddhi, it takes the place of न् of पथिन् and not of इ. Thus we have पन्थाः, the न being added by VII. 1. 87.

Similarly सः from तद्, which is formed by VII. 2. 102 "short अ is the substitute of *tyad*, &c.," Here अ takes the place of द्. Thus we have त, which is changed again into स by VII. 2. 106.

न धातुलोप आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, धातु-लोपे, आर्द्धधातुके, (गुणवृद्धी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वेकदेशो धातुस्तस्य लोपो यस्मिन्नार्द्धधातुके तदार्द्धधातुकं धातुलोपं तत्र ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ।

4. The Guṇa and vṛiddhi substitutions, which otherwise would have presented themselves, do not

take place, when such an ârdhadhâtuka (III. 4. 114) affix follows, which causes a portion of the root to be elided.

This is an exception to sûtra 3. By that sûtra iks were to be gunated or vṛiddhied and by sûtra VII. 3. 84, the root is to be guṇated before all ârdhadhâtuka terminations. All primary affixes, that are applied directly to roots in Sanskrit, are divided into two broad classes, called sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka. The affixes marked with an indicatory श (called शित्), and the conjugational affixes, such as तिप् , तः &c., (called तिङ्) are sârvadhâtuka ; all other affixes are called ârdhadhâtuka.

Though by the general rule, VII. 3. 84, the root is to be guṇated before ârdhadhâtuka terminations, yet it is not to be so, before those affixes which cause the लोप 'lopping off or ellipses' of a portion or a member of the original dhâtu Thus the termination स्यामि is a first person singular termination of the future tense (लृट्) and is an ârdhadhâtuka termination; when this is added to root जि 'to excel' the इ of जि becomes guṇated and we have जेष्यामि "I shall or will excel." But in those cases where there is a lopa of the member of a root form, caused by an affix, there is no guṇation. Thus in लोलुवः "a great cutter," the original root is लू "to cut" which forms the Intensive verb लोलूय. In forming the noun of agency from the verb लोलूय, an ârdhadhâtuka suffix अच् III. 1. 134, is added. Thus लोलूय + अच्. At this stage, by force of sûtra II. 4. 74. which declares that "before the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) the य of the Intensive verb must be suppressed," the *ya* is dropped and we have लोलू+अ. Here by the general rule VII. 3. 84, the final ऊ would have been guṇated. But by virtue of the present sûtra, no guṇa takes place, because here on account of the ârdhadhâtuka affix अच्, a portion of the root, namely, य, has been elided ; therefore no guṇa takes place. Thus we have लोलुवः "a great cutter."

The word धातु "root" has been used in the sûtra, in order to indicate that the exception does not apply where there is an elision of an anubandha or of an affix. As in लूञ्+इता=लो+इता=लविता. Here the indicatory letter ञ् has been elided, but that does not prevent gunation. Similarly in रेड् the affix विच् is added to the root रिष् "to injure." Thus रिष्+विच् (III. 2. 75.) =रिष्+व् (I. 3. 2. and 3.)= रिष्+० (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix व् is elided, but nevertheless, the guṇa substitute must take place in रिष् . Thus we have रिष्+०=रेष् (VII. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62)=रेड् (VIII. 2. 39).

The word ârdhadhâtuka has been used to indicate that a sârvadhâtuka affix which causes the elision of a portion of a root, does not prevent guṇa or vṛiddhi as in रोरवीति, (Rig Veda IV. 58. 3) "he roars much." रु+यङ् =रोरुय (III. 1. 22). रोरुय+तिप्=रोरु+ति (II. 4. 74.). Here the sârvadhâtuka

affix तिप् causes the elision of य, a portion of the root. The guṇa substitution however takes place, and we have रोरो+ई+ति (VII. 3. 94)= रोरवीति, the augment ईट् being added by sûtra VII. 3. 94.

The word "ikaḥ" of the previous sûtra is understood in this sûtra also. The ik letters only are not guṇated or vṛiddhied before such ârdhadhâtuka affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in अभाजि the equation is as follows:—अ+भञ्ज्+चिण्=अ+भज्+इ (VI. 4. 33). Here the *â*rdhadh*â*tuka affix चिण् has caused a portion of the root भञ्ज्, to be suppressed, *viz.*, the letter ञ् has been elided. But nevertheless the अ of भज् is vṛiddhied before चिण् because अ is not included in the pratyâhâra ik; and the exception contained in the present sûtra only applies to the ik letters. So also रञ्ज्+घञ् (III. 3.18)=रज्+अ (VI. 4. 27.)=रागः (VII. 2. 116. and VII. 3. 52).

क्ङिति च ॥५॥ पदानि ॥ गित्-कित्-ङित्-च । (गुणवृद्धी, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ङिन्निमित्ते ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥

5. And that, which otherwise would have caused gu*n*a or v*r*iddhi, does not do so, when it has an indicatory क् ग् or ङ्.

Thus the past participle terminations क्त and क्तवतु are ârdhadhâtuka affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused guṇa, but as their indicatory letter क is इत्, the real terminations being, त and तवत्, they do not cause guṇa. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the ik of the root is not guṇated. Thus with the root चि "to collect" we have चितः or चितवान्, श्रु, "to hear," श्रुतः, श्रुतवान्; भी; "to fear" भीतः, भीतवान्.

Similarly the terminations क्यप् केलिम, क्वसु कानच्, क्त्वा, क्तिन्, &c., are all कित् terminations 'the indicatory letters of all being क्,' the real affixes being य, एलिम्, वस् &c. &c. &c. Before these, the root is not guṇated. Thus we have from भृ "to bear" भृत्य, from भिद् "to pierce" भिदेलिम.

The terms कित् &c., of this sûtra are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of निमित्त or cause, that is the guṇa or vṛiddhi which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is कित्, गित्, ङित्. Thus all ârdhadhâtuka and sârvadhâtuka affixes cause guṇation of the *final ik* of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the Sârvadhâtuka affix शप् (अ) in the following:—

भू + शप् + तिप् = भो+अ + ति=भवति "he is." Similarly sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka affixes cause the guṇa substitution of the short *penultimate ik* of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus बुध् + शप् + तिप् =बोधति.

The general force of the locative case in an aphorism is to cause the operation directed, on the expression immediately preceding it (I. 1. 66.) If the force of the locative case in the present sûtra were also that as

explained in I. 1. 66, then the interpretation would be this :—An affix having an indicatory k, g or ṅ, would not cause the guṇa substitution of the vowel ik, immediately preceding it. The case of the penultimate short ik will not be covered by it. Then though the rule may apply to चि+क्त=चित: "collected" it would not apply to भिद्+क्त; there would be nothing to bar the guṇa substitution of the penultimate इ of भिद्. This however is prevented by explaining the locative as one of "occasion" and thus भिद् + क्त = भिन्न: "broken."

Similarly from the root जि we have a word जिष्णु: 'victorious,' in which the affix ग्स्नु has an indicatory ग् Thus जि + ग्स्नु = जिष्णु : "victorious" (III. 2. 139), so also स्थास्नु : "durable,"

Similarly the affix, अङ् is a ङित् affix, the real suffix being अ, the ङ् being merely indicatory. Therefore when अङ् is added to a root, there is no guṇation or vṛiddhing. Thus we have from विद् " to know'. विद:

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all sârvadhâtuka affixes that are not marked by an indicatory प्, are treated as ङित्. Thus the second person singular termination तस् is ङित्, and we have चिनुत : "they two collect," similarly चिन्वन्ति, "they collect," मृज् + क्त = मृष्ट : "cleansed," मृजन्ति "they cleanse."

The phrase "when indicated by the term *ik*" is understood in this sûtra. The prohibition, therefore, applies to ik vowels only, and not to all vowels in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root कम् " to desire" takes the affix णिङ्; of this affix the letters ण् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is इ. The force of ण् is to cause vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 116). The indicatory ङ् does not prevent such vṛiddhi, as the letter अ of कम् is not included in ik. Thus we have कामि+ अते=कामे+अते=कामयते "he desires."

According to the wish of the author of the Mahâbhâshya, the verb मृज् optionally takes vṛiddhi, before kit or *ṅit* affixes beginning with a vowel. As परिमृजन्ति or परिमार्जन्ति "they rub." Here in this sûtra there is prohibition of the guṇa of the short penultimate ik also.

The indicatory ङ् of the verbal tense affixes *i.e.*, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्, is an exception to this rule of ङित्. This is an inference deduced from III. 4. 104 which declares "when the sense is that of benediction, then the augment यासुट् of लिङ् is as if it were distinguished by an indicatory क." There would have been no necessity of making यासुट् a कित्, if लिङ् were a ङित्, but the very fact of making यासुट् a कित् indicates by implication or is ज्ञापक that the final ङ of लिङ्, लङ् &c. does not make these tense affixes ङित्. Thus in लङ् or Imperfect tense we have अचिनवम् "he collected" (अचिनु + लङ् =अचिनु + अम् = अचिनो + अम् = अचिनवम् .)

दीधी वेवीटाम् ॥६॥ पदानि ॥ दीधी-वेवी-इटाम् ,(गुणवृद्धी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीधीवेव्योरिटश्चये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥ ६ ॥

6. The guna and vriddhi substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of dîdhî 'to shine,' and vevî 'to go,' and of the augment called इट्.

The roots दीधी and वेवी never take the guṇa or vṛiddhi substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix ण्वुल् generally causes vṛiddhi substitution when added to any root; and so the affix ल्युट् causes guṇa. But these affixes when applied to the verbs dîdhî and vevî, never cause vṛiddhi or guṇa substitution. As आदीधी + ण्वुल् = आदीधी + अक (VII. 1. 1) = आदीध्यकः (VI. 1. 77). So also आदीधी + ल्युट् = आदीधी + अन (VII. 1. 1) = आदीध्यनम्. Similarly from वेवी we have आवेव्यनम् and आवेव्यकः. In the Vedas, however, these verbs take guṇa. Thus अदीधेत् (Rig Ved. X. 98. 7), and अदीधयुः (Rig Ved. V. 40. 5). These two verbs are confined generally to the Vedic literature, and the present rule therefore, seems to be an unnecessary prohibition; as they take guṇa in spite of such prohibition.

Of the augment इट् the real affix is इ. In the general tenses, it is added to certain terminations beginning with consonants of the वल् class, *i.e.*, all consonants except य (VII. 2. 35). Thus the future termination, first person, singular is स्यामि; this when added to the root चर् "to move" requires an intermediate इ, and thus we have the form चरिष्यामि, 'I shall walk.' This इ is never guṇated or vṛiddhied, though according to the general rule, coming before an ârdhadhâtuka termination, it ought to have been gunated.

The augment इट्, could under no circumstances have taken vṛiddhi, the prohibition therefore, is in the case of the guṇa substitute of इट्.

हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः ॥७॥ पदानि॥ हलः, अनन्तराः, संयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिन्नजातीयैरज्भिरव्यवहिताः श्लिष्टोच्चारिता हलः संयोग संज्ञा भवन्ति समुदायः संज्ञी ॥

7. Consonants unseparated by a vowel are called conjunct consonants.

This defines the word sanyoga. The sûtra consists of three words, हलः, the plural of the pratyâhâra हल्, denoting all the consonants, अनन्तरः means "without any separation or space" and संयोग: which is the word defined, and means "conjunct consonants." So that the sûtra means, conjunct consonants are those consonants between which there is no heterogeneous separating vowel and which are pronounced jointly, such as क्क in the word कुक्कुटः, "cock." The word "sanyoga" applies to the whole of the conjunct consonants jointly and not to them separately. The plural number shows that the conjunction may be of two or more consonants.

Why do we say "consonant"? If two vowels come together they will not be called "sanyoga". Thus तितउच्छत्रं "a sieve umbrella," the two vowels अ and उ have come together unseparated by any consonant; yet they are not called sanyoga, otherwise the final उ would have been rejected by VIII. 2. 23 "there is elision of the final of that pada which ends in a sanyoga letter." Why do we say "unseparated by a vowel"? If consonants separated by a vowel were also called sanyoga, then in the sentence पचति पनसम्, the syllable सम् would be called sanyoga, and by VIII. 2. 29, the initial स would be elided.

मुखनासिकावचनो ऽनुनासिकः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुख-नासिका-वचनः, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुखसहिता नासिका मुखनासिका, तया य उच्चार्यते वर्णः सोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञो भवति ।

8. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunâsika* or nasal.

This defines the word anunâsika. The sûtra consists of four words मुख "mouth" नासिका "nose" वचनः "utterance or pronunciation" and अनुनासिकः "nasals." Though the words मुखं + नासिका (II. 4. 2) will by the rule of composition form मुखनासिकं and not मुखनासिका, yet the latter form might be held to be an irregularity; or the phrase मुखनासिकावचनं may be regarded as a compound of मुखनासिक + आवचनं, the word âvachana meaning "partial utterance." That is a letter partially uttered by the nose and partially by the mouth would be called anunâsika. Therefore the nasals are those letters which are pronounced from two organs or places, *i.e.*, the mouth and the nose. The pure nasal is anusvâra, while anunasikas are different from this, in as much as, that in pronouncing these, the breath passes through the nose and the mouth.

The vowels are generally so nasalised. 'If, instead of emitting the vowel sound freely through the mouth, we allow the velum pendulum to drop and the air to vibrate through the cavities which connect the nose with the pharynx, we hear the nasal vowels (anunâsika).' Thus अँ, आँ. In the Vedas, the particle आङ् is anunâsika. As अभ्र आँ अपः (Rig Veda. V. 48. 1), so also पर्षि दीने गभीर आँ उग्रपुत्रे (Rig Ved. VIII. 67. 11).

The consonants ङ, ञ, ण, न and म are also anunâsika. Thus ङ is pronounced by the throat along with the nose, ञ by the palate and nose, ण by the upper palate and nose; न by the teeth and nose, and म by the lip and nose.

The semi-vowels य, व and ल are also nasalised and are then called anunâsika. The term anunâsika is used in sûtra V. 1. 126 &c.

Why have we used the word "by the mouth"? This definition will not include anusvâra or the pure nasal, which is pronounced wholly through

the nose. Why have we used the word "by the nose"? In order to exclude the consonants क, च, ट, त, प &c. &c., which are pronounced wholly and solely through the mouth.

तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-आस्य-प्रयत्नम्, सवर्णम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्य आस्ये प्रयत्नो यस्य वर्णस्य येन वर्णेन सह स समानजातीयं प्रति सवर्णसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *ऋकारऌकारयोः सवर्णसंज्ञा वक्तव्या * ॥

9. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called savar*na* or homogeneous letters.

This defines the word savarṇa or a homogeneous letter. The sûtra consists of four words:—तुल्य "equal or similar," आस्य "mouth or place of pronunciation," प्रयत्न "effort" and सवर्णम् "words of the same class."

The आस्य or places or portions of the mouth by contact with which various sounds are formed are chiefly the following:—1. कण्ठ "throat" 2. तालु 'palate,' 3. मूर्द्धा, 'head,' 4. दन्ताः 'teeth,' 5. ओष्ठौ 'lips,' 6. नासिका 'nose.'

The प्रयत्नम् or quality or effort is of two sorts primarily, आभ्यन्तरः "internal" and बाह्यः "external." The first is again sub-divided into five parts:—

1. स्पृष्टम् or complete contact of the organs. The twenty-five letters from क to म belong to this class. In pronouncing these there is a complete contact of the root of the tongue with the various places, such as throat, palate, dome of the palate, teeth and lip.

2. ईषत्स्पृष्टम् or slight contact. The letters य, र, ल, व belong to this class of contacts. "In pronouncing these semi-vowels the two organs, the active and passive, which are necessary for the production of all consonantal noises, are not allowed to touch each other, but only to approach."

3. विवृतं or complete opening. The vowels belong to this class.

4. ईषद् विवृतं or slight opening. The letters श, ष, स, ह belong to this class. Some however place the vowels and श &c., into one group and call them all vivṛita.

5. संवृतम् or contracted. In actual use, the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is contracted but it is considered to be open only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of grammar.

The âbhyantara prayatna is the mode of articulation preparatory to the utterance of the sound, the bâhya-prayatna is the mode of articulation at the close of the utterance of the sound.

The division of letters according to âbhyantra prayatna has been already given. By that we get, 1. the sparsa or mute letters, 2. the antastha or intermediate between sparsas and ushmans, or semi-vowel or

liquid letters, 3. the svaras or vowels or vivṛita letters, 4. the ushmans or sibilants or flatus letters.

The division of letters according to bâhya prayatna gives us first surds or aghosha letters, 2. sonants or ghosha letters. The aghosha are also called svâsa letters, the ghoshas are called nâda letters.

The second division of letters according to bâhya prayatna is into;

1. Aspirated (mahâprâṇa). 2. Unaspirated (alpaprâṇa).

The vowel अ has eighteen forms. The *acute* अ (udâtta), *grave* अ (anudâtta) and *circumflexed* अ (svarita). Each one of these three may be nasalised (anunâsika), or not (niranunâsika).

Then lastly everyone of these six may be short, long, or prolated. Thus:—अ, अ॒, अ॑, अँ, अँ॒, अँ॑, आ, आ॒, आ॑, आँ, आँ॒, आँ॑, अ३, अ॒३, अ॑,३, अँ३, अँ॒३, अँ॑३.

Similarly the letters इ, उ and ऋ have also eighteen forms. The letter ऌ has no long form; it has therefore 12 modifications. The diphthongs have no short forms, they have therefore, only 12 forms. The antastha or semi-vowels with the exception of र have two forms each *viz.*, nasalised and un-nasalised. The semi-vowels have no homogeneous letters corresponding to them. All letters of a varga or 'class' are homogeneous to each other.

Thus then the homogeneous or savarṇa letters must satisfy two conditions before they could be called savarṇa. First, their place of pronunciation or आस्य must be the same. Secondly their प्रयत्न or quality must be equal. If one condition be present and the other be absent, there can be no savarṇa-hood. Thus च and श are both palatals, their आस्य or place of pronunciation being तालु 'palate,' but still they are not savarṇa, because their प्रयत्न is different, the प्रयत्न of च being sprishṭa and that of श being vivṛita.

Similarly क and च though their प्रयत्न is the same *i.e.*, sprishṭa, yet their आस्य being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savarṇa.

There is exception to this rule in the case of ऋ and ऌ, which though having different आस्य are still called savarṇa by virtue of the vârttika of Kâtyâyana; "the homogeneousness of ऋ and ऌ, one with another, should be stated." Thus होतृ + ऌकार: = होतॄकार: ; here ऋ and ऌ have coalesced into long ॠ by rules of sandhi, on the assumption that they are savarṇa letters.

The word savarṇa occurs in sûtras like अक: सवर्णे दीर्घ : (VI. 1. 101).

Why do we say "the place of pronunciation"? So that there may not be homogeneous relationship between कचटत and प whose prayatna is the same but whose âsya is different. What is the harm if we make them savarṇa? Then in words like तर्प्ता and तर्प्तुम्, the प would be elided, if it be held homogeneous with त, by VIII. 4. 65, "there is optional elision of झर्, preceded by a consonant, when a homogeneous झर् follows."

Why do we say "effort"? That there may be no homogeneity between इ and the palatals, and य and श, whose organ of pronunciation is the same, but whose prayatna is different. What harm if it be so? Then in अरुश्च्योतति, the श would be elided before च by the rule already referred to, VIII. 4. 65.

नाज्झलौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अच् हलौ, (सवर्णम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यास्य प्रयत्नावपि अज्झलौ परस्परं सवर्णसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

10. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

This sûtra lays down an exception to the former sûtra. There can be no homogeneity or savarṇa relationship between vowels and consonants, though their आस्य and प्रयत्न may be the same. Thus इ and श have the same आस्य namely तालु 'palate,' and the same प्रयत्न: namely vivṛita, but still they are not to be called savarṇa. Thus in दण्डहस्त, दधिशीतलं &c., the letters अ and ह in the first example, and इ and श in the second not being homogeneous letters; there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have taken place.

Similarly if श and इ be held homogeneous, then विपाश + अण् (IV. 3. 53) = विपाश् + अण् (VI. 4. 148; here श would be elided by VI. 4. 148, but it is not so and we have वैपाश: "belonging to vipâsâ or born therein." So also in आनडुहं "ox-skin," the ह would have been omitted, if held homogeneous with अ.

ईदूदेद्द्विवचनम् प्रगृह्यम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-ऊद्-एद् द्विवचनम्, प्रगृह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईत् ऊत् एत् इत्येवमन्तं द्विवचनं शब्दरूपं प्रगृह्य संज्ञं भवति ॥

11. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called Pragṛihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragṛihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." (VI. 1. 125). This sûtra gives three of these terminations, *viz.*, the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्). Thus:—कवी इमौ "these two poets," so also वायू इति "two winds;" माले इति "these two garlands." पचेते इति "they two cook" पचेथे इति "you two cook." Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final इ of कवी and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because कवी is the nominative dual of कवि.

Why do we say ending in *î*, *û* and *e*? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As वृक्षौ + अत्र = वृक्षावत्र, "these two trees" (VI. 1. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that ई, ऊ, or ए of the dual number only are pragrihya; if these vowels terminate any other number they will not be pragrihya but will follow the general rule of sandhi, as कुमारी (1. s.) + अत्र = कुमार्यत्र, "the girl is here" (VI. 1. 77).

Vârt: The prohibition of मनीव &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + इव = मनीव "like two gems." So also दम्पतीव "like a couple," जम्पतीव "like man and wife," रोदसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vârtika is unneccessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

अदसोमात् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, मात्, (इदूदेत् प्रगृह्यम्)॥

वृत्तिः॥ अदसः सम्बन्धी यो मकारस्तस्मात् पर ईदूदेतः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

12. (The same letters) after the म् of the pronoun अदस् are Prag*r*ihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be pragrihya by force of the last sûtra, but the present sûtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by म, of *whatever number* they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions namely अमी and अमू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller:—"The terminations of अमी and अमू nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are pragrihya." As अमी अश्वाः "Those horses," and अमू आसते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "of the word adas"? The letters ई, ऊ, ए following after the म् of any other word will not be pragrihya. As शमी + अत्र = शम्यत्र "this sami tree."

Why do we say "after the letter म"? Because in the example अमुके + अत्र = अमुकेऽत्र, "those here," the ए, preceded not by म but by the क of अकच् (V. 3. 71) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of sûtra 11, which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

शे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः॥ शे इत्येतत् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

13. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a prag*r*ihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declesion of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which

replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called शे (VII. 1. 39.) Thus अस्मेइन्द्रावृहस्पती.

Of this substitute शे, the initial श is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a pragṛihya.

In the sacred literature there is only one example of this pragṛihya, as given above; while in imitation of this, we have in secular writing phrases as, त्वेइति, युष्मे इति, मे इति &c.

निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातः, एकाच्, अनाङ्। (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकश्चासावच्च एकाच् निपातो य एकाच् आङ्वर्जितः स प्रगृह्यसंज्ञो भवति ॥

14. A particle I. 4. 56 consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Pragrihya.

This sûtra consists of three words:—निपात: "particle," एकाच् "consisting of one vowel," अनाङ् "with the exception of आङ्."

All such particles technically called nipâta (I. 4. 56) which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragṛihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As इ इंद्र. "Oh, Indra" उ उत्तिष्ठ "O arise."

It follows from the above definition that those nipâtas which consist of two or more letters, vowel and consonant, are not pragṛihya, e. g. प्र in प्राग्नये वाचमीरय.

आङ् which is not a pragṛihya, has four significations:— As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, as आ+ उष्णम् = ओष्णम् "little hot, tepid" (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of "near" "nearto," and with verbs of "motion," "taking" &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् 'to go,' आगम 'to come;' आ + इहि = एहि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) "from," "ever since," as आजन्मनः "ever since his birth," (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), "till" "until" as आ+अध्ययनात् = आध्ययनात्, "until the reading begins." When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragṛihya, as आ एवं किलासीत् "Ah! such there once was," आ एवं मन्यसे. "Oh! do you think so."

The word एकाच् in this aphorism has a peculiar meaning. It means "consisting of one vowel and nothing else." In other words, the vowels themselves when used as निपात, e. g. आ, उ, इ &c. But the term एकाच् has a wider signification than that given to it in this sûtra. It means "a word or a portion of a word consisting of one vowel which can be pronounced at once"—in other words एकाच् means a "syllable." In that sense the words प्र, नि, वि &c., will also be एकाच्, but not so here. Therefore the rule of sandhi will apply

to them, thus प्राग्नये वाचमीरय. See sûtra VI. 1. 1. where the word एकाच् means a monosyllable.

Why do we say "a nipâta?" Because if the single vowel is not a particle, but something else, an affix &c., then it will not be a pragṛihya, as the final अ in चकार "he did," is the affix of third person perfect tense, and is liable to sandhi; as चकारात्र.

ओत् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओत्, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओदन्तो यो निपातः स प्रगृह्य संज्ञोभवति ॥

15. The final ओ of a particle is a pragṛihya.

This sûtra consists of one word ओत् the final त् is a surplusage. The words "pragṛihya" and "nipâta" are to be supplied from the preceding sûtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in ओ though consisting of several letters, are pragṛihya. As अहो अपेहि "Halloo, go away."

सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, शाकल्यस्य, इतौ, अनार्षे, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बुद्धि निमित्तो य ओकारः स शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञो भवति, इति शब्दे ऽनार्षे अवैदिके परतः ॥

16. The final ओ of the vocative singular (II. 3. 49) before the word इति according to Sâkalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragṛihya.

This sûtra gives the opinion of the Ṛishi Sâkalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus both forms वायविति (formed according to the general rule of sandhi) and वायो इति (where ओ is pragṛihya) are correct.

In ârsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता गा ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत्.

The mention of the name of any sage, such as that of Sâkalya in this sûtra, serves generally one of the two purposes:—(1) either it makes the rule an optional one, vibhâshârtham, or (2) the mention is merely for the sake of showing respect to the particular sage, the rule would have stood as well without such mention; pujârtham, as the word Kâsyapa in sûtra I. 2. 25.

उञः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञः, (प्रगृह्यम् शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उञः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवति इतौ शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

17. The particle उञ् before *iti*, according to Sâkalya is a Pragṛihya.

This sûtra consists of the single word उञ् meaning उ. According to the same Ṛishi Sâkalya, उञ् is a pragṛihya, before इति, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति.

ऊँ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊँ, (शाकल्य०, उञः, प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उञ इतावनार्षे ऊँ इत्ययमादेशो भवति दीर्घोऽनुनासिकः शाकल्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञकश्च ॥

18. The particle ऊँ replaces उञ in non-vedic literature, and it is a prag*r*ihya in the opinion of *S*âkalya.

Before the word इति the word उञ् is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal *û*. Thus ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or विति.

" In some authorities the sûtras 17 and 18 form but one sûtra, and then it is divided by the method of *yoga-vibhâga*, the division of a single sûtra into two separate sûtras having two distinct rules.

ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-ऊतौ, च, सप्तमी-अर्थे ॥

वृत्ति : ॥ ईदन्तमूदन्तञ्च शब्द रूपं सप्तम्यर्थे वर्त्तमानं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

19. The final ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are prag*r*ihya.

This sûtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sûtra (VII. 1. 39) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by सु (1. s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or शे, or या, or डा, or ड्या, or याच्, or आल् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is ङि (इ). In forming the 7. s. of तनू "body," we have तनू+इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तनू+ऊ=तनू " in the body," as, अध्यस्यां मामकीतनू (for मामक्यां तन्वां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वां. Similarly गौरी+इ=गौरी "on the Gaurî," as सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long *î* and *û* are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.

It is only long *î* and *û* which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) ḍâ (â) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि + ङि =अग्नि+डा=अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, प्रियः सूर्ये प्रियो अग्ना भवाति य इंद्राय सुतसोमो ददाशत् (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihya. Therefore अग्ना+इति = अग्नेति.

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति + टा (3rd s.) = मति + इ (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मती 'with wisdom'. Here *î* is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus मती+इति = मतीति.

The word अर्थ is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound of वाप्याम् "in the well" and अश्व "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get वापी + अश्व. Here, no doubt, the word वापी is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long ई of vâpî has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, वाप्यश्व: "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or ऊ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (pûrva-pada); for words like वापी &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like गौरी, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

दाधाघ्वदाप् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दा, धा, घु, अदाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दारूपाश्चत्वारो धातवो धारूपौ च द्वौ, दाब्दैपौ वर्जयित्वा घुसंज्ञका भवन्ति ॥

20. The verbs having the form of dâ 'to give' and dhâ 'to place,' are called ghu.

This defines the word ghu. Four verbs have the form of दा, or assume it by the application of VI. 1. 45, and two, of धा; they are called घु. The ghu verbs have certain peculiarities of conjugation to be described hereafter.

The घु verbs are the following:—डुदाञ् "to give," as प्रणिददाति; दाण् "to give," as, प्रणिदाता; दो "to cut," as, प्रणिद्यति; देङ् "to pity" as, प्रणिदयते, डुधाञ् "to place" as, प्रणिदधाति, धेट् to "feed" as, प्रणिधयति.

In the above examples, because of the verbs being घु, the न of प्रनि is changed into ण by VIII. 4. 17.

Similarly दाप् "to cut" and दैप् "to clean" not being called घु, rules VII. 4. 46 and 47 do not apply to them. Thus दा + क्त = दातं 'what is cut,' as, दातं बर्हिः. So also अवदातं "washed" as, अवदातं मुखं "a bright face." But with दा "to give," &c. दा + क्त = दद् + त (VII. 4. 46) = दत्तः "given;" so also we have प्र + दा + क्त = प्रत्तम् (VII. 4. 47). The word घु occurs in sûtra VI. 4. 66, &c. The word dâp includes also daip by the paribhâshâ given under III. 4. 19, ऐ changed into आ by VI. 1. 45.

आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अंत-वत्, एकस्मिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदाविव अन्तइव एकस्मिन्नपि कार्यं भवति ॥

21. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

This is an atideśa sûtra and consists of four words, आदि "beginning," अन्त "end," वत् "like," एकस्मिन् "in one;" the literal translation being "beginning is end-like in one." The affix वत् has the force of the locative, and the

meaning is "on the beginning," and "on the end," *i.e.*, let an operation be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final. Thus by III. 1. 3. an affix has udâtta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tavya has accent on the first अ, and we have कर्त्तव्यम्. But when an affix consists of a single vowel, it is itself the beginning and the end, and, as such, will have the accent. As in औपगवम् aupagavam the last *á* has the accent, which á represents the affix अण्.

Similarly, by VII. 3. 102, the final of a base *ending in* short अ is lengthened before a case-affix beginning with a consonant of यञ् class. Thus राम+भ्याम्=रामाभ्याम्. This rule will apply when the word consists of one letter only, and that letter is a short अ. Thus अ+भ्याम्= आभ्याम् "by those two." Here it must not be objected that the solitary अ is *initial*, and cannot be *final*.

Why do we say "in one"? If a word consists of more than one letter, then the beginning is not like the end. Thus in the word सभा the initial short अ is not like the final long आ; otherwise सभा would get the name of वृद्धम् (I. 1. 73), and the secondary derivative from सभासन्नयन would be formed by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). But this is not so, the affix अण् is employed instead, and the form is साभासन्नयन:.

तरप्तमपौ घः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरप्-तमपौ, घः ॥

• वृत्तिः ॥ तरप् तमप् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ घ संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

22. The affixes tarap and tamap are called घ.

This sûtra defines घ affixes. They are two, तर and तम, the प् in them being इत्. The special use of these affixes will be described later on. These affixes are useful in forming the comparative and the superlative degrees respectively of adjectives, adverbs, &c. The base undergoes certain changes before these terminations, which will be treated of in its proper place.

Thus the words कुमारितरा and कुमारितमा are formed by adding the affixes तर and तम to the word कुमारी 'a girl,' whose long ई is shortened before these affixes by sûtra 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.

बहुगणवतुडति संख्या ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-गण-वतु-डति, संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुगणवतुडति इत्येते संख्यासंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *अर्द्धपूर्वपदश्च पूरणप्रत्ययान्तः संख्यासंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्, समासकन्विध्यर्थम् ॥

23. The words bahu 'many,' ga*n*a 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and *d*ati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhyâ).

This sûtra defines the word saṅkhyâ, or numeral.

These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like बहु 'many,' and गण 'class', and those that have the affixes वत् and अति after them, belong to this class. The letters उ and ड of वतु and डति are इत्, or indicatory, the actual affixes being वत् and अति.

The word saṅkhyâ means "numerals;" and this class contains, among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding वतु are generally compound pronouns, *e. g.* तावत् "so much," यावत् "as much," एतावत् "so much," similarly words formed by the affix डति, *e. g.* कति "how many," तति "so many," यति "as many."

Thus बहु + कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17) = बहुकृत्वः "many times" the affix कृत्वसुच् being added only to saṅkhyâ words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also बहु + धा (V. 3. 42) = बहुधा "in many ways." Here also the affix धा is added by virtue of बहु being a saṅkhyâ. Similarly बहुकः (V. 1. 22) "purchased for a big sum," बहुशः (V. 4. 43) "manifold." So also गणकृत्वः, गणधा, गणकः, गणशः; so also तावत्कृत्वः, तावद्धा, तावच्छः; कतिकृत्वः, कतिधा, कतिकः, कतिशः.

When the words बहु and गण mean "abundance" and "multitude" they are not saṅkhyâ. It is only when they are expressive of numbers, that they get the designation of saṅkhyâ. The necessity of defining saṅkhyâ arose in order to exclude such words as, भूरि "numerous," &c., which though they express numbers, are not to be treated as "numerals," technically so called.

Vart:—The word अर्द्ध "half" when standing as a first term in a compound number which takes an affix giving the sense of an ordinal, gets the designation of saṅkhyâ, for the purposes of the application of the rules of samâsa and of the affix कन्. The ordinal affixes or pûraṇa pratyayas are like डट् (V. 2. 48), मट् (V. 2. 49), थक् (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus एकादशः "eleventh," पंचमः "fifth," चतुर्थः "fourth," &c. Similarly we have अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पः "purchased for 4½ baskets" (a dvigu). Here अर्द्ध + पंचमा (an ordinal) = अर्द्धपंचम्, a bahuvrîhi compound meaning 4½, *viz.*, that in which half is the fifth term. अर्द्धपंचमैः शूर्पैः क्रीतः = अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पः the taddhita affixes ठञ् and अञ् required by V. 1. 19 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking अर्द्धपंचमम् as a saṅkhyâ, and then applying sûtra II. 1. 51. The samâsa here is in the sense of taddhita, and this compounding is only possible by rules (II. 1. 50 and 51), when अर्द्धपंचमम् gets the appellation of saṅkhyâ. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes अञ् and ठञ् (V. 1. 26). The word शूर्प takes both these affixes in the sense of "being

bought with." Thus शौर्पिकम् and शौर्पम् both mean "bought with a measure called śûrpa." In the above compound of अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पः the sense is that of the above-named taddhita; but the affixes have been elided by V. 1. 28 after dvigu compounds. So also we have अर्द्धपंचमकः by applying the affix कन्. For these two purposes, namely samâsa and the application of कन्, compounds of ardha, like ardha-pañchama are treated as saṅkhyâ.

ष्णान्ता षट् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष्-ण्-अन्ता, षट्, (संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारान्ता नकारान्ता च या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

24. The Sankhyâs having ष or न as their final are called sha*t*.

This sûtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivision of the larger group saṅkhyâ. Those saṅkhyâs which end in ष् or न् are called षट्. The word saṅkhyâ is understood in this sûtra, because the word ष्णान्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies saṅkhyâ which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namely पंचन् 'five,' षष् 'six,' सप्तन्, 'seven,' अष्टन् 'eight,' नवन् 'nine,' दशन् 'ten.'

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22). Thus षट् तिष्टन्ति, पंच गच्छन्ति ॥

The word अन्त in the sûtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupadeśika *i.e.*, must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्राणि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

डति च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ डति, च, (संख्या, षट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डत्यन्ता या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

25. And the sa*n*khyâs ending with the affix *d*ati are called sha*t*.

This sûtra enlarges the scope of the definition of षट् by including in it, words formed by डति. By sûtra 22, words in डति are already saṅkhyâ; by this they are also षट्. Therefore we have कति पठन्ति, 'how many are reading,' कति पश्य 'see how many.' Here कति has lost its plural termination by VII. 1. 22.

क्तक्तवतू निष्ठा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त-क्तवतू, निष्ठा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तश्च क्तवतुश्च क्तक्तवतू प्रत्ययौ निष्ठासंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Nish*t*hâ.

This defines the nishtha affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are त, तवतु, the क and उ being indicatory. They being कित् are liable to all the rules applicable to कित् affixes, such as rule I. 1. 5. Thus we have, कृतः, कृतवान्, भुक्तः, भुक्तवान्.

The force of the indicatory उ in ktavatu is, by IV. 1. 6, to indicate that in forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicatory vowel of ûk pratyahâra (उ, ऋ, लृ), the affix ङीप् (ई) must be added. Thus कृतवत् (masc.), कृतवती (fem.). The word nishthâ occurs in sûtra VII. 2. 14.

सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-आदीनि, सर्वनामानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्द आदिर्येषां तानीमानि सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

27. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called sarvanâma or pronouns.

This defines sarvanâma or pronominals. To know what are the other words comprised in the phrase 'and the rest' we must refer to Pâṇini's Gaṇapâṭha where a list of all groups referred to in the sûtras, is given. Thus we know from it, that the following are sarvanâma :—

सर्व 'all,' विश्व 'all,' उभ 'two,' उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix डतर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix डतम as कतम 'which of many,' अन्य 'other,' अन्यतर 'either,' इतर 'other,' त्वत् 'other,' त्व 'other,' नेम 'half,' सम 'all,' सिम 'whole,' त्यद् 'he, she, it,' तद् 'he, she, it,' यद् 'who,' एतद् 'this,' इदम् 'it,' अदस् 'that,' एक 'one,' द्वि 'two,' युष्मद् 'you,' अस्मद् 'I,' भवतु 'you,' किम् 'what.' So also पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' पर 'subsequent,' अवर 'west or posterior,' दक्षिण 'south or right,' उत्तर 'north or inferior, subsequent,' अपर 'other or inferior,' अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanâmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also स्व when it does not mean a 'kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanâma.

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanâma words. Thus सर्व though ending in अ, is not declined like नर which also ends in अ, the plural of सर्व being सर्वे, that of नर being नराः. Similarly the dative singular नराय, सर्वस्मै ; the abl. sing. नरात्, सर्वस्मात् ; the loc. sing. नरे, सर्वस्मिन् ; the Gen. pl. नराणाम्, सर्वेषाम् &c.

The compounds (with certain exceptions) ending in these words are also sarvanâmas. The word उभ 'both' is always used in the dual number as उभौ, उभाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3. 71) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal

as उभकौ. Another object gained by its being so called, is the application of II. 3. 27, by which a pronominal may take the case-affix of the 3rd case or the 6th case in denoting cause.

There are two त्व in the above list, namely त्वत् and त्व, having the same meaning, and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udâtta, and of the other anudâtta. Some give one त्वत् only and not the other, and say that both have anudâtta accent. The word सम is a sarvanâma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर *i.e.* like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pâṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10, where he uses the regular genitive plural समानाम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the genitive plural would have been समेषाम्.

The above words sarva &c. are not to be treated as pronouns when they are used as appellatives. For example, if सर्व be the name of a person then it will be declined like ordinary nouns, as सर्वाय देहि 'give to Sarva (a person'). Here the dative singular is regularly formed. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanâma, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि 'give to (him who is) above all.' Here in the compound अतिसर्व 'Above-all' or 'Supreme Being,' the word सर्व loses its independent character and defines and determines the sense of another word. Fuller explanation of the word upasarjana will be given later on in I. 2. 43. This term सर्वनाम is an अन्वर्थसंज्ञा that is a term the application of which accords with its meaning.

विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुब्रीहै ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, दिक्-समासे, बहुब्रीहै, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिशां समासो दिक्समासो दिगुपदिष्टे समासे बहुव्रीहौ विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनाम संज्ञानि भवन्ति ।'

28. The above words are optionally sarvanâma when they occur in a bahuvrîhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26.)

This is an exception to sûtra 29 which follows. As a general rule (see sûtra 29), in bahuvrîhi compounds, these words sarva &c. are declined like ordinary nouns. The present sûtra declares an option to this, in special cases relating to compounds signifying direction. Thus the bahuvrîhi compound of direction उत्तरपूर्वा 'north-east' may form its dative case as a pronominal, e.g. उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or it may form its dative like ordinary words ending in आ, *i. e.* उत्तरपूर्वायै. So दक्षिणपूर्वस्यै or दक्षिणपूर्वायै.

Why do we say "when signifying a direction"? The next sûtra will enjoin that in bahuvrîhi compounds, these words are not treated as pronominals. Therefore, if in the present sûtra, we had not used the word दिक्, it would have been impossible to know where there was option and where prohibition. By employing the word "direction," it is thus determined, that in a samâsa, relating to direction (II. 2. 26), there is allowed option, while there is prohibition in all other kinds of bahuvrîhi compounds.

Why do we say "in compound"? So that the option may be in that bahuvrîhi which is purely samâsa, and in no other bahuvrîhi. There is no option allowed in that bahuvrîhi where there is a semblance of bahuvrîhi but not exact bahuvrîhi.

The quasi-bahuvrîhi, or analogical bahuvrîhi compounds, or to use the Sanskrit phrase, bahuvrîhi-vadbhâva, is taught in sûtra VIII. 1. 9. where words in repetition are treated like bahuvrîhi. Thus एकं + एकं = एकैकम् 'one and one, each one.' Bahuvrîhi compounds are possessive compounds, but in the above example, no idea of possession enters. However the compound here is treated like a bahuvrîhi, for the purposes of the elision of the case-affix of the first member, and the whole compound gets the designation of prâtipadika. In compounds like this, therefore, which are bahuvrîhi-vat, but not exactly bahuvrîhi, the present rule and the succeeding sûtra do not apply. Thus एकैकस्मै देहि 'give to each one,' दक्षिणदक्षिणस्यै देहि ॥

Why do we say "in the bahuvrîhi"? So that there may be no option in the dvandva compound. Thus दक्षिणोत्तरपूर्वाणाम् 'of the south, north and east.' The prohibition in the case of dvandva by rule 31 is absolute and invariable.

न बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, बहुव्रीहौ, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

29. The words sarva &c., are not sarvanâma when occurring in a bahuvrîhi compound.

As a general rule (see sûtra 72), when any definition, rule, operation &c. is made applicable to a particular word, the same would also apply to any other word which ends in that word. Thus the plural of man being 'men' in English, the plural of blackman will be blackmen. So the definition of sarvanâma given to sarva &c., separately, will also apply to the words ending in sarva &c.

This sûtra introduces thus an exception to sûtra 27. In bahuvrîhi or possessive compounds, the nature of which compounds will be described

later on, the above mentioned words are not pronominals, and must follow the ordinary rule of declension. Thus the compound प्रियविश्व meaning 'beloved of all' is a bahuvrîhi compound of प्रिय 'beloved,' and विश्व 'all,' (which is a sarvanâma). The declension of this compound will follow the general rule. Thus, in the dative singular, we have प्रियविश्वाय, though the dative singular of विश्व by itself is विश्वस्मै, like other pronominals. So also प्रियोभयाय "to him who is beloved of both." So also द्वयन्याय, त्र्यन्याय &c.

Similarly in bahuvrîhi compounds, these words not being treated as pronominals, they do not take also the special affix अकच्, but the general affix कन्. As, त्वत्कपितृकाौ, मत्कपितृकाौ (V. 3. 70).

Though the word bahuvrîhi was present in this sûtra by anuvṛitti from the last aphorism, the object of using the word bahuvrîhi again in this sûtra, is this:—that the prohibition may apply to those expressions also which are no longer bahuvrîhi, but whose original components were once bahuvrîhi. Thus the words वस्त्रान्तरा and वसनान्तरा are bahuvrîhi compounds; but when these two words are further compounded into a dvandva compound, the present rule still applies. As, वस्त्रान्तरावसनान्तराः ॥

तृतीयासमासे ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-समासे, (सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि, न,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

30. In Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanâma.

This is another exception to the definition of sarvanâma. There is a class of compounds in Sanskrit called tatpurusha compounds, in which the last word governs the preceding one. The word governed may be in any one of the six cases: when it is in the third or instrumental case, the compound is called tritîyâ tatpurusha. When, therefore, there is such a samâsa, the words mentioned in sûtra 26 are not to be declined like pronominals. Thus the word मासपूर्व is a compound of मास and पूर्व = मासेनपूर्व meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word mâsa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e.g. its dative will be मासपूर्वाय, though the dative of पूर्व, when standing by itself, is पूर्वस्मै; so also संवत्सरपूर्वाय ।

The tṛitîya-samâsa of the present sûtra has reference to the special tritîyâ-samâsa ordained by the particular sûtra II. 1. 31. namely, "that which ends with the 3rd case affix, is compounded with the words pûrva, sadṛiśa, sama, &c." and has not reference to the tṛitîyâ-samâsa in general, such as one ordained by II. 1. 32, "that which ends with the 3rd case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument,is compounded diversely with what ends in a

kṛit affix." Therefore, in phrases त्वयका कृतं 'done by thee,' मयका कृतं 'done by me,' these words are treated as pronominals, though in the instrumental case followed by a word ending in a kṛit-affix. In other words, reading this sûtra with II. 1. 31, we find that pûrva is the only sarvanâma which is so compounded, and to which only the present sûtra would seem to apply.

The word समास may appear to have been mentioned redundantly, as it has already been mentioned in the previous sûtra, the primary object of the sûtra authors being to shorten the rules by the keeping out of every unnecessary word. But here, the word समास has been repeated, to show that even in phrases like मासेन पूर्वाय, though not a compound, but used in construction with an instrumental case, the word पूर्व is not a sarvanâma, that is to say, the prohibition extends even to phrases, which bear the sense of the instrumental compound, though not exhibited in the form of the instrumental compound.

द्वन्द्वे च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, च, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे च समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

31. And in Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva &c., are not sarvanâma.

This sûtra mentions another exception. In collective compounds the above words are not sarvanâma. Dvandva is a compound in which two words are simply joined together, the compound taking the terminations of the dual or plural according to the number of compounded words, or the terminations of the singular, being treated as a collective term. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्ण 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others'. The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the genitive plural we have:—वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् and not ०इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वापराणाम् 'of the priors and the posteriors.'

The word च 'and' in the sûrta indicates that it closes the list of exceptions or prohibitions that began with sutra. 29.

विभाषा जसि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, जसि, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनाम, द्वन्द्वे समासे, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे जसि विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

32. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanâma when the nominative plural termination jas follows.

This is a proviso to sûtra 31, and declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural, as we shall find later on, and which in the pronominals is replaced by शी), the dvandva

compounds may be treated either as sarvanâmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णाश्रमेतर may be either वर्णाश्रमेतराः or ०तरे, that is, the word may take either जस् or शी.

This sûtra governs the four succeeding sûtras. The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71). There the sûtra 31 is absolute. Thus, कतरः + कतमकः = कतरकतमकाः in the plural. This affix अक (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

प्रथमचरमतयाल्पार्द्धकतिपयनेमाश्च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथम-चरम-तय-अल्प-अर्द्ध-कतिपय-नेमाः, च (विभाषाजसि,सर्वादीनि,सर्वनामानि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथम चरम तय अल्प अर्द्ध कतिपय नेम इत्येतेजसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

33. And also the words prathama 'first'; charama 'last,' words ending with the affix taya (V. 2. 42); alpa 'few' ardha 'half ' katipaya 'some,' and nema 'half' are optionally sarvanâma, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरमे or चरमाः, अल्पे or अल्पाः, अर्द्धे or अर्द्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, द्वितये or द्वितयाः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix जस् follows" are understood in this sûtra. The governing force of the word "dvandva" does not extend to this, and stops at this. By the word तय in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix तय. The rest are prâtipadikas or crude bases. The word नेम has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called prâpta-vibhâsâ, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like नर, the rest of its declension is like sarva, while in the case of prathama &c. the nom. pl. may be like sarva, but the rest of their declension must be like that of nara. The word ubhaya, has been formed by the addition of the affix तय, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sûtra its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.

पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-पर-अवर-दक्षिण-उत्तर-अपर-अधराणि, व्यवस्थायाम्, असंज्ञायाम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वादीनि विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥

34. The words pûrva 'prior,' para 'after,' avara 'posterior,' dakshi*n*a 'south,' uttara 'north.' apara 'other,' and adhara 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanâma before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of sarvanâmas. They are always sarvanâmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, *i. e.*, when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than the one which has been determined or fixed for them, they are not sarvanâmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञां). Thus, when the word दक्षिण means 'clever,' it is not a sarvanâma, as, दक्षिणा इमे गाथकाः 'these clever minstrels,' similarly in उत्तराः कुरवः 'the northern Kurus,' the word उतर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a proper noun.

When these seven words are sarvanâma, they are declined like sarva, except in the nominative plural, when they may be declined either as sarvanâmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a prâptavibhâsâ.

That there is a 'specification' (niyama), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (avadhi), with reference to which something is to be described by the word itself, is what we mean when we say "that a relation in time or place (avasthâ) is implied." For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (dakshiṇa), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the Himâlayâ with reference to which Benares may be described as a "place to the southward." Again we in the north may thus speak of the people to the south of the Vindhyâ mountains, as being southern, not with reference to the inhabitants of Ceylon, but with reference (as every one here understands by tacit implication) to us ourselves, who live to the north the Vindhya range. Thus, (पूर्वे or पूर्वाः, अवरे or अवराः, परे or पराः) दक्षिणे or दक्षिणाः ; उत्तरे or उत्तराः ; अपरे or अपराः ; अधरे or अधराः.

स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, अज्ञाति-धन-आख्यायाम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमित्येतच्छब्दरूपं जसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति न चेज् ज्ञाति धनयोः संज्ञारूपेण वर्त्तते ॥

35. The word sva 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property is optionally sarvanâma before the affix jas.

The word स्व when it does not mean a ज्ञाति 'kinsman' or धन 'property' or 'wealth' is always a sarvanâma, in every number and case, as it has been

enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वे पुत्राः or स्वाः पुत्राः 'one's own sons,' स्वे गावः or स्वा गावः 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' स्वाः alone is the nom. pl.. As, स्वा ज्ञातयो 'these kinsmen' प्रभूताः स्वाः 'much riches'.

अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरम्-बहिर्योग-उपसंव्यानयोः (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरमित्येतच्छब्दरूपं विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति बहिर्योग उपसंव्याने गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अपुरीति च वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *विभाषा प्रकरणे तीयस्य वा ङित्सु सर्वनामसंज्ञेत्युपसंख्यानम्* ॥

36. The word antara being always a sarvanâma, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix jas.

The word अन्तर when it means बहिर्योग, *viz.*, 'outer' is always sarvanâma, so also, when it means उपसंव्यान or 'a lower garment.' Thus, अन्तरे गृहाः or अन्तरा गृहाः 'outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.' So अन्तरे or अन्तराः शाटकाः 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments." The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanâma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanâma, e. g., ग्रामयोरंतरे वसति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is अन्तरे. With this sûtra ends the section on sarvanâmas, which began with sûtra 26.

Vart:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

Vart:—The words formed by the affix तीय such as, द्वितीय and तृतीय, are optionally declined as sarvanâma before the case-affixes having an indicatory ङ (ङित्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, द्वितीयस्मै or द्वितीयाय, तृतीयाय or तृतीयस्मै.

स्वरादि निपातमव्ययम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वर्-आदि, निपातम्, अव्ययम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि निपाताश्चाव्ययसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

37. The words svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I. 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. The words स्वर् &c. must be found out from the Gaṇapâṭha; they are the following:—

स्वर् 'heaven,' अन्तर् 'midst,' प्रातर् 'in the morning,' पुनर् 'again,' सनुतर् 'in concealment,' उच्चैस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' ऋधक्

'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' ऋते 'except, without,' युगपत् 'at the same time, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly.' पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' श्वस् 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईषत् 'slightly, a little,' शश्वत् 'ever,' जोषम् 'gladly,' तुष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् 'outside,' अविस् 'below, without, outside. समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा 'in vain,' नक्तम् 'at night, by night,' नञ् 'negative particle, not,' हेतौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्धा 'truly, really' हे इ 'exclamation,' अद्धा 'evidently, truly,' सामि 'half,' वत बत 'enclitic like, as Brâhmaṇavat, priestly,' सनत् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरस् 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तरा, अन्तरेण 'except, without' ज्योक, योक 'long,' कम् 'expletive particle,' शम् 'ease,' सना 'perpetually,' सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously,' स्वस्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अलम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' श्रौषट्, वौषट् (interjection) 'oblation of butter,' अन्यत् 'again, moreover, otherwise.' अस्ति 'being present,' उपांशु 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon,' विहायसा 'aloft in the air,' दोषा 'at night or in the evening,' मृषा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' मुधा 'in vain,' पुरा 'formerly,' मिथो or मिथस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' मुहुस 'again, repeatedly' उवाहकम् or उवाहिका 'at the same time,' आर्यहलम् 'violently' अभीक्ष्णम् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिरुक् 'without,' धिक् 'fie!' अथ 'thus,' प्रताम् 'with fatigue,' प्रशान् 'alike,' प्रतान् 'widely,' मा, माङ 'do not.'

So, also the words formed by the affixes ktvâ tosun, kasun, by the krit affixes ending in म् or ए, ऐ, ओ or औ, and the avyayîbhâva compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिल् (V. 3. 7) and ending with पाशप् (V 3. 47), by the affixes beginning with शस् (V. 4. 42) and ending with समासांत: (V. 4. 68), by the affixes कृत्वसुच्, सुच्, आच् and थाल् by the affixes having the sense of the affix च्वि, or by the affixes अम् or आम्, तसि or वति, न or नाञ् are also indeclinables.

The words called nipâta will be given under sûtras, I. 4, 56 to 61. Thus a word which changes not (न व्येति), remaining alike in the three genders and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an अव्यय or indeclinables.

तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितः, च, असर्व-विभक्तिः (अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितान्तः शब्दोऽसर्वविभक्तिरव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

38. And the words ending in taddhîta or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76.) which are not declined in all the cases are also indeclinables.

This expands the definition of avyaya. There are three words in the sûtra taddhitaḥ, cha and asarva-vibhaktiḥ. Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानवः, sârva-vibhaktis are those words which take all case-terminations, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb यतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there.' Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यतः, यत्र, तदा, यदा, सर्वदा, सदा &c.

कृन्मेजन्तः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्, म-एज्-अन्तः (अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृद्यो मकारान्त एजन्तश्च तदन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञं भवति ॥

39. The words formed by those kṛit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93) which end with म् or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ are also indeclinables.

All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called kṛit, the latter, taddhita.

Words formed by kṛit affixes which end in म or ए, ओ, ऐ, or औ (connoted by the pratyahara एच्) are avyayas. Thus the affix तुम् (technically तुमुन्) and अम् (technically णमुल्, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in म्. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus दातुम् 'to give,' and स्मारम् 'remembering' are avyayas. So also words like जीवसे 'to live,' पिबध्यै 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ए, &c.

Thus, in the following examples, the words within quotation are avyayas 'स्वादुंकारं,' 'संपन्नंकारं,' 'लवणंकारं,' भुङ्क्ते, 'he eats first having made it relishing' (III. 4. 26). "वक्षे" रायः (वच् + से III. 4. 9=वक्षे); ता 'वामेषे,' रथनामुर्वीम् गव्युतिमेषां (इ + से=एषे. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). अस्मे शतं शरदो 'जीवसे' धा अस्मे वीराञ्छश्वत इंद्र शिप्रिन् (Rig Veda III. 36. 10). आपः पृणीत भेषजं वरूथं तन्वे मम। ज्योक् च सूर्यं 'दृशे,' (Rig Veda I. 25. 21, दृश् + केन् III. 4. 11 दृशे).

The word अन्त is used in this sûtra for the same purpose, as it was employed in sûtra 24, showing that these terminations must be 'aupadeśika,' and not derivative. Therefore the following words are not avyayas:—आधये (d. s.), आधेः (g. s.) चिकीर्षवे। चिकीर्षोः। कुम्भकारेभ्यः। नगरकारेभ्यः॥

क्त्वातोसुन्कसुनः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा, तोसुन्-कसुनः, (अव्ययम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वा तोसुन् कसुन् इत्येवमन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञम्भवति ॥

40. The words ending with ktva, tosun (III. 4. 16) and kasun are indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतोः 'having risen,' विसृपः 'having spread.' Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables :—पुरासूर्य 'स्योदेतो' राधेयः । पुरावत्साना 'मपाकर्त्तोः' । पुराक्रूरस्य 'विसृपो' विरप्शिन्नु दादाय पृथवीं जीवदानुम् ॥ (Yajur Veda. I. 28) य ऋते चिदभिश्रिषः पुरा जर्तृभ्य 'आतृदः' । (Rig Ved. VIIIa. 1. 12).

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः-च (अव्ययम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसमासोऽव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

41. (The compound called) Avyayîbhâva (II. 1. 5) is also indeclinable.

The Avyayibhava or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter. Thus अधिहरि 'upon Hari,' अनुरूपं 'after the form *i.*, *e.*, accordingly.'

The word च in the sûtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sûtras.

What is the object gained by making the avyayibhâva compounds avyayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables, *viz.*, we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, *i.e.*, sûtra II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words upâgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word śalavâḥ, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्नि प्रत्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्वर), *i.e.*, sûtras VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, उपाग्नि मुखः, here, sutra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sûtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent: (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga : into स्, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपयःकारः, उपपयःकामः, as compared with अयस्कारः Here, the compound उपपयः being treated as avyaya sûtra VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of : into स्.

The four sûtras 38,39,40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the svaradigaṇa. see sûtra 37. These sûtras properly, therefore, belong to the gaṇapaṭha; their repetition here in the Ashtâdhyâyî indicates that these rules are अनित्य or not of universal application, *viz.*, all rules relating to avyayas in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69. declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an avyaya is not a rule of universal application, for we see

indeclinables like उद्देतोः governed by the genitive case as, सूर्यस्योदेतोः ; or क्रूरस्य विसृपः .

शि सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतत्सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञम्भवति ॥

42. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called sarvanâmasthâna.

This defines the word sarvanâmasthâna. The affix शि is the nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes जस् and शस् used in every other gender. The श् of शि is servile, and the actual termination is इ ; the peculiarity of the affix शि is that it lengthens the penultimate vowel (VI. 4. 8) and adds a न् (VII. 1. 72). Thus the plural of फल 'fruit' is फलानि 'fruits.' So also कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, and कुण्डानि पश्य. Here, there is no difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also मधूनि, त्रपूणि, जतूनि. The word sarvanâmasthâna occurs in sûtra VI. 4. 8.

सुडनपुंसकस्य ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, अनपुंसकस्य, (सर्वनामस्थानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सुडिति पञ्च वचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि भवंति नपुंसकादन्यत्र ॥

43. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyâhâra *sut.* (*i. e.*, the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanâmasthâna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

This defines further the word sarvanâmasthâna. The case-terminations in Sanskrit are 21 as arranged below :—

		Singular	Dual	Plural.
Nominative	प्रथमा	सु (स्)	औ	जस् (अस्)
Accusative	द्वितीया	अम्	औट्	शस् (अस्)
Instrumental	तृतीया	टा (आ)	भ्याम्	भिस्
Dative	चतुर्थी	ङे (ए)	,,	भ्यस्
Ablative	पंचमी	ङसि (अस्)	,,	,,
Genitive	षष्ठी	ङस् (अस्)	ओस्	आम्
Locative	सप्तमी	ङि (इ)	,,	सुप् (सु)

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the ज् of जस्, the श् of शस्, the ट of औट् &c. are indicatory. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyâhâra सुप् formed by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly the first five terminations (सु, औ, जस्, अम् and औट्) are represented by सुट् and are called sarvanâmasthâna in the masculine and feminine genders. In the declension of nouns, it will be seen, that some nouns have two bases, one before these sarvanâmasthâna and the other before the rest.

Thus the word राजन् 'king' has the base राजान् before the सुट् vibhaktis, while in the remaining cases, the base is राज्ञ् and राज as:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	राजा	राजानौ	राजानः
Accusative	राजानम्	राजानौ	राज्ञः
Instrumental	राज्ञा	राजभ्यां	राजभिः

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

न वेति विभाषा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वा, इति, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेति प्रतिषेधो वेति विकल्पस्तयोः प्रतिषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषेति संज्ञा भवति ॥

44. "May or may not" is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sûtra defines the word विभाषा. We had already had occasion to use this word in sûtras 28 and 32. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâsha:— prâpta-vibhâshâ., aprâpta-vibhâshâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two.

Thus the root श्वि 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा श्वे (V. 1. 30), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasâraṇa, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुशाव or शिश्वाय.

इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि॥ इक्, यणः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इग्यो यणः स्थाने भूतो भावी वा तस्य संप्रसारणमित्येषा संज्ञा भवति ॥

45. The ik vowels which replace the semi-vowels ya*n* are called samprasâra*n*a.

This defines the word samprasâraṇa. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyâhâra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ऌ, and their corresponding semi-vowels are य्, व्, र्, and ल् included in the pratyâhâra yaṇ. The word samprasâraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वप् 'to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishṭhâ affix क्त (see sûtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + त. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasâraṇa of the व of स्वप् before the कित् affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः 'slept.' Similarly from वद्-उदितः, यज्-इष्टम्, व्यध्-विद्धः, ग्रह्-गृहीतम् - प्रछ्-पृष्टम्. The term samprasâraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. 1. 13; VI. 4. 131.

आद्यन्तौ टकितौ ॥४६॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अन्तौ, ट्-क्-इतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिष्टिद्भवति अन्तः किद्भवति षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य ॥

46. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory ट् or क्, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sûtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters ट् and क्. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is ट् that augment is to be placed before the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a कित् augment is to be added after the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sûtra (VII. 2. 35) which says "ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with a consonant except य, have इट्". The question may arise where is this इट् to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ârdhadhâtuka affix? This sûtra answers the question. The indicatory ट् shows, that it is to be placed before the ârdhadhâtuka affix. Thus the future termination स्यति, is an ârdhadhâtuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment इट्. Thus भू+इट्+स्यति= भविष्यति, 'he will be.' Similarly लविता 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sûtra VII. 3. 40. the root भी takes the augment षुक् in forming the causative. This having an indicatory क् is to be added after the word भी, as, भी +षुक्+णिच्+त= भीषयते 'he frightens.'

मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिद्, अचः, अन्त्यात्, परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचां सन्निविष्टानामन्त्यादचः परो मिद्भवति ॥

47. The augment that has an indicatory म् comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final postion of that which it augments.

This sûtra explains the use of the indicatory म्. The augments having an indicatory म्, technically called मित् augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called नुम्, in which उ and म् are इत्, and the actual augment is न्. When, therefore, it is said "let नुम् be added to the word," the letter न् is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पयस् 'milk' is formed in the following way:—पयस्+नुम्+इ (VII. 1. 72) = पयांसि (VI. 4. 8). Here न् is added between य and स् *i. e.* after the अ of य, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly मुच् + श + ति (III. 1. 77) = मुच् + नुम् + श + ति (VI. 1. 59) = मुञ्चति । Similarly विरुणद्धि.

The word अचः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhâraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sûtra is an exception to sûtras I. 1. 49 and III. 1. 2, by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

There is, however, an exception, in the case of the root मस्ज्, in

which the augment नुम् is added not after the last vowel अ of म, but between स् and ज्. The result of adding the augment नुम् between स् and ज् is, that sûtra VIII. 2. 29. applies, and the स् is elided. Thus मस्ज् + ता = मस्ज् + नुम् + ता (VII. 1. 60) = मस्नज् + ता = मञ्ज् + ता (VII. 2. 29) = मङ्क्ता "He will immerse". So also मग्नः 'immersed,' मग्नवान्, मङ्क्तुम्.

एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, इक्, ह्रस्व-आदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचो ह्रस्वादेशे कर्तव्यइगेव ह्रस्वो भवति नान्यः ॥

48. Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

This sûtra points out the ह्रस्व substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sûtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares:—"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form provided it end in a vowel." Therefore in compounding अति + रै, the ऐ must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sûtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरि 'extravagant' so नौ, अतिनु 'disembarked or landed,' गो, उपगु 'near a cow.' All avyayîbhâva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्'? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्. Thus the short of आ is अ. As, अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वः, अति + माला = अतिमालः ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted?' Because when प्लुत or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As दे३वदत्त O Devadatta! दैवद३त्त!

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, स्थाने-योगा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इह शास्त्रे या षष्ठी अनियतयोगा श्रूयते सा स्थानेयोगैव भवति नान्ययोगा स्थानेयोगनिमित्तभूते सति सा प्रतिपत्तव्या ॥

49. The force of the genitive case in a sûtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sûtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sûtras of Pâṇini. The genitive case or shâshṭhi denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation, possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sûtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism

lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sûtra 3, the word इक् is in the genitive case; the literal translation being :—"of ik there is guṇa and vṛiddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sûtra means 'in the place of इक्.' Similarly in the sûtra immediately preceding this, *viz.* 48, we have the word एच् in the genitive case and the sûtra means 'of एच्.' Here also "of" means "in the place of."

Thus in sutra हन्तेर्ज (VI. 4. 36) 'of hanti, there is ज' the word हन्ते, is the genitive of हन्ति; this genitive is used generally and its force is that of "in the place of." Therefore, ज displaces the verb हन् in लोट् or imperative mood, and we have जहि 'kill thou.'

This sûtra is also thus translated by Dr. Kielhorn :—Only that which is enunciated in a rule, *i. e.* that which is read in a rule or rather that which in the real language is like that which is read in a rule in a genitive case, or that which forms part of that which is enunciated in a genitive case, assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word स्थान 'place' *i. e,* is that in the place of which some thing else is substituted, but some thing suggested by the former does not assume that relation.

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence दर्भाणां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthâne, means 'prasange' i. e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sûtras अस्तेर्भूः (II. 4. 52), or ब्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53), the words 'asti,' and 'brû' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस् or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् instead respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of अस्; so slso, वक्ता, वक्तुम् and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of ब्रू.

The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrîhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrîhi, see II. 2. 248 35), and it qualifies the word shashṭhî. The compound means स्थाने योगोऽस्या, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthâna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound; on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठेकालः &c.

स्थानेऽन्तरतमः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थाने-अन्तरतमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थाने प्राप्यमाणानामन्तरतम आदेशो भवति सदृशतमः ॥

50. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

This sûtra also lays down another rule of paribhâsha. To explain this we must take an example. The guṇa of इ, उ, ऋ, and ऌ, is अ, ए, ओ. There is nothing to specify what letter is the guṇa of what. It might be said that ओ is the guṇa of इ because the definitions as laid down up to so far, do not say anywhere that ओ is not the guṇa of इ. So that when in a word like चि we are told 'let there be the guṇa of इ' we do not know what specific guṇa letter is to be substituted, whether it is अ, ए or ओ. To clear up this doubt, this sûtra declares that the likest of its significates is to be substituted. Now the nearest in place to इ is ए, both having their place of pronunciation, the palate. Similarly ओ is the guṇa of उ, because both are labials.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness :—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i. e.* palate, throat &c.); (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to be used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *viz.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

(1). Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, "when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sûtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—दण्ड + अग्रं = दण्डाग्रं ; here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are gutturals.

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. 1. 63 :—"The words पद्, दत्, नस् &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes शस् (acc.-pl.) &c., follow." Here, we know the substitutes, but we do not know of what they are the substitutes. We apply the maxim of अर्थतः "that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the *meaning* of the original, *i. e.*, a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express." Thus we find that पद् is the substitute of पाद, दत् of दन्त,नस् of नासिका, &c., which convey the same *meaning* and contain almost the same letters. Another example of this is afforded by VI.3.34, by which feminine words in a compound are changed into masculine. Thus वातण्डी (fem) + युवति = वातण्डययुवतिः.

(3). An example of prosodial substitution (प्रमाणतः) is afforded by rule VIII. 2. 80, "उ is the substitute of what comes after the द् of अदस् not ending in स् and in the room of द् there is म् ." Thus अम + स्मै = अमु + अस्मै = अमुष्मै ; अम + भ्याम् = अमा + भ्याम् (VII. 3. 102) = अमू + ऊभ्याम् = अमूभ्याम्. Here, short उ replaces the short अ, and the long ऊ replaces the long आ.

(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for च् and ज् when an affix having an indicatory घ् follows." Applying the rule of गुणतः we find that क् which is an alpaprâṇa and aghosha letter replaces च् having the same quality; while ज् which is ghosha, and alpaprâṇa is replaced by the letter ग् possessing similar quality. Thus पच् + घञ् (III. 3. 18) = पाकः; त्यज् + घञ् = त्यागः; रञ्ज् + घञ् = रागः ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of the word sthâna was understood in this sûtra from the last, the repetition of this word indicates the existence of the following paribhâshâ :—

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of इ and उ out of the three guṇa letters अ, ए and ओ, we find that अ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.*, अ and इ and उ have all one mâtrâ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and ओ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, चेता, स्तोता.

Why do we use the word "likest" in the superlative degree? Where there are many sort of proximities, the likest must be taken. Thus वाक् + हसति = वाग्घसति. Here, by VIII. 4. 62, "after a letter of झय् class, ह् is changed into a letter homogeneous with the preceding," ह् must be changed into a letter of the class क्. Out of the five letters of this class, ख् and ह् are both aspirates, but ख् is hard, and ह् is soft; so ग् and ह् are both soft, but ग् is unaspirate, and ह् is aspirate, therefore these must be rejected; the only letter which has the nearest approach to ह्, is घ्, which is both soft and aspirate. Similarly in त्रिष्टुब्भसति, the ह has been changed into भ.

उरण् रपरः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, अण्, र-परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उः (ऋकारस्य) स्थानेऽण् प्रसज्यमान एव रपरो वेदितव्यः ॥

51. When a letter of अण् pratyâhâra comes as a substitute for ऋ it is always followed by a र.

This sûtra consists of three words *viz.*, उः which is the genitive singular of ऋ and means literally 'of ऋ' or 'in the place of ऋ'; the second word is अण्, a pratyâhâra denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This sûtra is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of ऋ. Thus, there

are only three guṇa vowels अ, ए and ओ. Of these what is the proper guṇa for ऋ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the guṇa of ऋ; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the guṇa of ऋ, the actual substitute is अर्. Thus कृ+ता=कर्त्ता; similarly हर्त्ता.

So also when ऋ is replaced by इ as by sûtra VII. 1. 100, this substitute इ must be followed by a र्. As कॄ+अति=कि+र्+अति=किरति 'he scatters;' similarly गिरति 'he swallows.'

So also when ऋ is replaced by उ, as by sutra IV. 1. 115 this उ must be followed by a र्. As द्वि + मातृ + अण् = द्वैमातुरः 'son of two mothers'

This र् is to be added only when ऋ is replaced by अ, इ or उ (अण्) vowels, and not when it is replaced by any other letter.

Thus by IV. 1. 97, "the ऋ of the word सुधातृ is replaced by अक् (technically अकङ्) when the affix इञ् is added." Thus, सुधातृ + इञ् = सुधात् + अक् + इ = सौधातकिः, 'a descendant of Sudhâtṛi' Here the substitute of ऋ, that is to say, the syllable अक् is not followed by र्.

The र in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyâhâra formed by the letter र् and अ of लण्; and thus it includes the letters र् and ल्. In that case the sûtra would mean that अण् substitutes of ऋ and ऌ are always followed by र् and ल् respectively. Thus guṇa of ṛi=ar, of ḷi=al.

अलोऽन्त्यस्य ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यस्य, (आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य य उच्यते आदेशः सोऽन्त्यस्यालः स्थाने वेदितव्यः ॥

52. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sûtra VII. 2. 102, it is declared त्यदादीनामः "in the place of त्यद् &c., there is अ." It does not mean that the whole word त्यद्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sûtra, that the last letter of त्यद्, namely द् is to be replaced by अ.

So also in sûtra I. 2. 50 इद्गोण्याः the short इ replaces only the final letter of गोणी and not the whole word, as पंचगोणिः 'purchased for five goṇis.' दशगोणिः

ङिच्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङ्-इत्, च, (आदेशः, अलः, अन्त्यस्य)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङिच्च य आदेशः सोऽनेकालपि अलोऽन्त्यस्य भवति ॥

53. And the substitute which has an indicatory ङ (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sûtra is an exception by anticipation to sûtra 55. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of मातृ and पितृ there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—' In the place of words ending in ऋ there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.' Now the substitute आनङ् is a ङित् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *viz*, the ऋ of मातृ is only changed into आ and not the whole word; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also होतापोतारौ.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute तातङ् (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicatory ङ्, yet replaces the whole expressions तु and हि and not only their finals. As जीवतात् 'may he live, or may you live'; instead of जीवतु 'may he live,' or जीव 'live thou.'

आदेः परस्य ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेः, परस्य, (अलः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य कार्यं शिष्यमाणमादेरलः प्रत्येतव्यम् ॥

54. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97) by which it is declared: "In the place of अप् used after the words द्वि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ई." This rule may be stated in other words as:—' In the place of अप् there is ई when अप् follows द्वि or अन्तर्.' Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अप् but only one. By sûtra 52 that letter would have been the last letter of अप्, but this sûtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अप् and we have द्वि + अप् = द्वीपं (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74) 'an island,' अन्तरीपं 'promontory.' So also in the sûtra ईदासः (VII. 2. 83) 'long ई is the substitute of आन when the latter comes after the root आस्.' Thus आस् + आन = आस् + ईन = आसीनः. Here also the ई replaces the initial आ of आन.

How can we find when an operation is to be performed on a subsequent word? When the previous word is exhibited in the 5th or ablative case, see sûtra 67.

अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेक-अल्, शित्, सर्वस्य, (आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकाल् य आदेशः शिच्च सर्वस्य षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य स्थाने भवति ॥

55. A substitute consisting of more than one letter, and a substitute having an indicatory श take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sûtra is an exception to sûtra 52 by which it was declared that an âdeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sûtra on the contrary enjoins that an âdeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an âdeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श् as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sûtra ब्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53) which means 'in the place of ब्रू let there be वच्.' Here the âdeśa वच् consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word ब्रू and not only the last letter ऊ. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb ब्रू is replaced by वच्. Thus the future tense of ब्रू is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

So also there is a sûtra (V. 3. 3.) by which it is declared:—"In the place of इदम् there is इश्." Here the âdeśa इ is an âdeśa having the श् for its indicatory letter, and though it consists of only one letter, it replaces the whole word इदम्, and not only its last letter म्.

Of course, it must be understood that the phrase 'consisting of more than one letter' applies to the *actual* substitute, and not to the substitute with its indicatory letters, the latter being for the purposes of counting regarded as mere surplusages and not to be taken into account. To see whether an affix is अनेकाल् or not, the indicatory letters must not be counted; and the affix must be stripped of all its इत् letters.

स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानि-वत्, आदेशः, अनल्-विधौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानिवदादेशो भवति स्थान्याश्रयेषु कार्येष्वनलाश्रयेषु स्थान्यलाश्रयाणि कार्याणि वर्जयित्वा ॥

56. A substitute (âdeśa) is like the former occupant (sthânî) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the operation of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

This is an explanatory sûtra, or this may be considered also as an atideśa sûtra, in as much as it declares that the operations to be performed

on or by the original, may be similarly performed on or by the substitute, but with certain restrictions. The words of this sûtra require some detailed exposition. Sthâni is the word or the portion of a word which is replaced. *A*deśa is the expression which replaces something. Al-vidhi is a compound of 'al' meaning alphabet, or letters in general, and 'vidhi' rule i. e. any rule applicable to letters.

There is an exception, however, to this rule in the case of rules, the occasion for the operation of which, is furnished by the letters of the original term. That is to say for the purposes of orthographic rules, an âdeśa is not like the sthâni. A rule which is applicable to the *letters* of the sthâni, need not be applicable to the letters of the âdeśa.

Thus the gerund of verbs is generally formed by adding the affix क्त्वा e. g. ग्रह् + त्वा. Now VII. 2. 35. prescribes the insertion of an intermediate इट् before ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with any consonant except य. This rule is clearly an al-vidhi, because the occasion for its application is conditional on the letters of the affix. The affix त्वा begins with त् and is an ârdhadhâtuka affix and fulfils all the conditions of the rule. Therefore, we have गृह् + इ + त्वा = गृहीत्वा (VI. 1. 16; VII. 2. 37).

Now in compound verbs the affix त्वा is replaced by य (tech. ल्यप्). Thus संगृह् + य. This âdeśa य which takes the place of त्वा has all the functions of त्वा viz. it has the power of making gerunds; it makes the word an indeclinable (see rule 41 *ante*), as the affix त्वा does. But the affix त्वा takes an intermediate इ; should, therefore, the âdeśa य take also the इ or not? Now the augment इ which त्वा takes is by virtue of VII. 2. 35, because it begins with a consonant of वल् pratyâhâra; while य is the only consonant which is not included in this pratyâhâra. Therefore, for the purposes of taking इ by rule VII. 2. 35. the âdeśa य is not like त्वा; since that rule is one which has its scope when there are certain initial letters; or an al-vidhi. Therefore, we have संगृह्य.

Substitutes replace either a धातु 'root,' or an अङ्ग 'base,' or a krit affix 'primary affix,' or a taddhita affix 'secondary affix,' or an avyaya 'indeclinable,' or a सुप् affix 'case affix,' or a तिङ् affix 'conjugational affix,' or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhâtu becomes like a dhâtu. Thus sûtras II. 4. 52 and 53 declare :—'भू is the substitute of the root अस्, and वच् of the root ब्रू when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows.' Here the substitutes भू and वच् are treated as dhâtu, and as such get the affixes तव्य &c. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्; वक्ता, वक्तुम्, वक्तव्यम्.

The substitute of an anga becomes like an anga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—'क is the substitute of the base किम् when a case-affix follows.'

Here, क gets the designation 'base' and so rules applicable to base, are applied to क also. Thus in केन, काभ्याम्, कैः &c., we have इन, the lengthening of the vowel, and ऐस् substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a kṛit affix becomes like a kṛit affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:—'ल्यप् is the substitute of the kṛit affix क्त्वा when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not नञ्.' Here, ल्यप् is also called a kṛit affix, and as such, sûtra VI. 1. 71 applies, and तुक् is added. As प्रकृ+ल्यप् = प्रकृ + त् + य = प्रकृत्य; similarly प्रहृत्य &c.

The substitute of a taddhita affix is like a taddhita. Thus VII. 3. 50 declares :— 'इक् is the substitute of the affix ठ' as दधि + ठक् (IV. 2. 18) = दाधिकम्, here, इक् being treated as a taddhita, sûtra I. 2. 56 applies and the word formed by it, gets the name of prâtipadika, and is so declined.

The substitute of an avyaya is like an avyaya. As, प्रस्तुत्य; प्रहृत्य. The affix क्त्वा makes avyayas (I. 1. 40), its substitute ल्यप् will also make the word an avyaya, and as such sûtra II. 4. 82 applies, and the case-affixes are elided after these words.

The substitute of sup-affixes becomes like sup. Thus VII. 1. 13 declares:—'य is the substitute of the sup-affix ङे after an inflective base ending in short अ.' Here, य is treated as a sup-affix, and therefore sûtra VII. 3. 102 applies, and there is lengthening of the vowel, as, वृक्षाय; प्लक्षाय.

The substitute of tiṅ becomes like tiṅ. Thus III. 4. 101 declares :— 'ताम्, तम्, त and अम् are substituted for तस्, थस्, थ, and मिप् when tense-affixes having indicatory ङ् follow.' Here the substitutes ताम् &c., also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, अकुरुताम्, अकुरुत &c.

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares :— 'वस् is the substitute of युष्मान्, युष्मभ्यम्, युष्माकम्, and नस् of अस्मान्, अस्मभ्यम् and अस्माकम्.' Here, वस् and नस् are treated as pada, and the final स् is changed into visarga, as वः, नः.

Why have we used the word वत् in the sûtra? Without it the aphorism would have been स्थान्यादेशोऽनल्विधौ, and this being a chapter treating of definitions, the meaning would have been, 'an âdeśa is called sthâni.' This certainly is not intended, for had it been so, then all operations would be performed by or on the substitute, but none by the original. But this is not so. Thus rule I. 3. 28, says 'the root हन् preceded by आ is âtmanepadî.' वध the substitute of हन् will be âtmanepadî, as आवधिष्ट; but हन् also will be so in its proper sphere, as, आहत.

The word âdeśa is used in the sûtra to indicate, that the rule applies even to partial substitutions : as changing the इ of ति into उ (III. 4. 86) in the Imperative e. g. पचतु.

The word al-vidhi is used in order to indicate that the substitutes of दिव्,

पथिन्, त्यद् &c., such as the change of व् into औ (VII. 1. 84), न् into आ (VII. 1. 85), द् into अ (VII. 2. 102), are not to be treated like the original : as द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः. Had these substitutes been treated like the original, rule VI. 1. 68 would apply, and the case-affix सु would have been elided.

अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, परस्मिन्, पूर्वविधौ, (स्थानिवत् आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वविधौ कर्त्तव्ये स्थानिवद्भवति ॥

57. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sûtra consists of three words:—अचः genitive of the pratyâhára अच् meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an âdeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words âdeśa and sthânivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sûtra. The second word is 'parasmin' loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pûrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pûrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sûtra thus comes to mean that an âdeśa which replaces a vowel, becomes sthânivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an âdeśa.

Thus there is an affix called णिच् the actual affix being इ; the other letters ण् and च् being इत्. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicatory ण् is to cause the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ; (sûtra VII. 2. 116) as पच+इ=पाचि. Now in forming the denominative verb from the word पटु, we have to add the affix णिच्. Thus पटु + इ; but before ṇich, the उ of पटु is substituted by a 'lopa' or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel उ of पटु and becomes sthânivat by force of the present sûtra. The result of becoming sthânivat is that though the अ of पट् is really a penultimate and ought to be vriddhied before 'ṇich' it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the अ tobe regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form पटि the present tense third person singular of which is पटयति. The equation being पट् + ० + इ, the zero preventing the अ of पट् from becoming penultimate. So also in the word अवधीत्, the aorist (लुङ्) of वध. Thus अ + वध + ईत् = अ + वध् + ० + ईत्. Here, the अ of वध is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is elision of the short अ of that which ends in short अ;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7.) which declares 'vriddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu अ preceded by a consonant when सिच् (aorist) follows.' However in the present case the zero is consi-

dered as sthânivat, and prevents the application of sûtra VII. 2. 7; otherwise we get the form अवाधीत् which is inadmissible.

Similarly बहुखट्वा + कप् = बहुखट्वकः। Here, the short अ is the substitute of the long आ of खट्वा by VII. 4. 15; because of the subsequent (parasmin) affix 'kap'. However, the word बहुखट्व will not be considered as a word ending in a short vowel, for the purposes of the application of rule VI. 2. 174, (the udâtta accent falls on the last vowel but one of a word that ends in a short vowel and is the last member of a bahûvrîhi compound followed by the affix kap). On the contrary the short अ is regarded as sthânivat to long आ. Thus बहुखट्वकः.

It is needless to say that this rule applies only to vowel âdeśa, therefore, where an âdeśa replaces a consonant, the previous sûtra 56 has its scope and prevents its being sthânivat. Thus there is a kṛit affix called ल्यप्, the real suffix being य, the ल् and प् being diacritical letters. Before this य the verb आगम् (to come) loses it म्, and lopa or blank takes the place of म्. Here then lopa or blank is an âdeśa and म् a consonant is sthâni.

Now there is a rule which says (VI. 1. 71), that before kṛit affixes having an indicatory प्, the letter त is added after verbs *ending* in light vowels. Now in आगम्, when म् is omitted, the अ of ग becomes final; and therefore a त् is required before य (which is a पित् affix). Thus we have आगत्य.

But had lopa or blank become sthânivat to म् then the अ of ग would have remained penultimate as it was when it was आगम्; and no त् would have been required. But it is not so.

Similarly in forming the word प्रश्नः. Thus प्रच्छ् + नङ् (III. 3. 90) प्रश् + नङ् (VI. 4. 19). Here, श् is substituted for छ्; this will not be sthânivat to छ्; though this substitute is caused by something that follows (parasmin). Were it to be sthânivat, there would come the augment तुक् (त्) by VI. 1. 73.

Similarly अक्राष्टाम्, the aorist of कृष्. Thus अ + कृष् + सिच् + ताम् = अ + कृष् + ० + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26). Here the स् is elided on account of what follows, but still the lopa substitute here is not sthânivat for the purposes of VIII. 2. 41. Had it been sthânivat, ष् of कृष् would be changed into क्.

Moreover this rule applies where a vowel is changed *on account of something which follows* (parasmin). Therefore, where the change has not been occasioned by anything subsequent, the âdeśa (though of a vowel) is not sthânivat. Thus the words युवजानिः and वधूटीजानिः.

The word युवजानि is a bahuvrîhi compound of युवति and जाया, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the आ of या is replaced by नि (tech. निङ्) by sûtra V. 4. 134. This नि will not be sthânivat to आ, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as sthânivat, the य् could not be elided by VI. 1. 66 ('there is elision of व

and य when any consonant except ह् or य् follows'). Thus, युवजाया+नि=युव-जाय् + o + नि (V. 4. 134) = युवजानिः (VI. 1. 66).

Similarly the word वैयाघ्रपद्यः, 'a descendant of व्याघ्रपात्' also illustrates this rule. व्याघ्रपाद् is a bahuvrîhi compound of व्याघ्र and पाद्, meaning 'whose foot is like that of a tiger.' Now the final अ of 'pâda' is elided in such compounds by V. 4. 138. This lopa substitution is not caused by anything that follows, therefore, this lopâdeśa will not be sthânivat for the purposes of the application of sûtra VI. 4. 130 ('पद् is the substitute of the word पात् when part of an inflective base ending in the word पाद् and entitled to the name of Bha. I. 4. 18'). Therefore, व्याघ्रपाद् +यञ् (IV. 1. 105)=वैयाघ्रपद्यः. Had the lopa been like the original, there could not have been the substitution of 'pad' for 'pâd.'

Similarly the word आदीध्ये, 1st per. sing. atm. present tense of the root दीधी 'to shine.' Thus आदीधी+इट्=आदीधी+ए (III. 4. 79). This change of इ into ए is not caused by anything that follows, hence ए is not sthânivat to इ, for the purposes of the application of rule VII. 4. 53 ('the finals of dîdhî and vevî are elided when an affix beginning with य or इ follows'). Had ए been sthânivat, the final ई would have been elided.

Similarly an âdeśa though of a vowel, and even though occasioned by a subsequent something, would not be sthânivat, if there is not the application of a rule to something that precedes the âdeśa (pûrva-vidhi). If the rule is to be applied to something subsequent to the âdeśa ; it will be applied to the exact âdeśa without considering what was the letter which the âdeśa had replaced. It is only when a rule is to be applied to a prior object, that it becomes important to consider whether the âdeśa is sthânivat or not. Thus the vocative case of गो is हे गौः। The vocative is formed from the nominative case (II. 3. 49). The nominative of गो is formed by changing ओ into औ and adding the case termination स्. Here the âdeśa औ, replaces ओ, on account of the subsequent termination स्. Now there is a rule applicable to vocative cases which declares that the final स् is dropped after short vowels and ए and ओ (VI. 1. 69).

Now is the औ of गौ to be regarded as sthânivat to ओ, which it replaces ; for the purposes of this rule of elision of finals? If so, the consequence would be that the final स् would have to be dropped in the vocative. But it is not so. Because the rule VI. 1. 69, which ordains the dropping of स् after short vowels and ए and ओ applies to a letter, which is not *anterior* to the âdeśa औ, but to one which follows it, and consequently there being no pûrva-vidhi here, the final स् is retained and we have the vocative गौः।

Similarly the word बाभ्रवीयाः, 'the pupils of Bâbhravya.' The word बाभ्रव्य is derived from बभ्रु in this wise. बभ्रु + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = बाभ्रो

+ यञ् (VI. 4. 146 and VII. 2. 117) = बाभ्रव् + यञ् (VI. 1. 79) = बाभ्रव्यः. From this is formed बाभ्रवीय in this wise:—बाभ्रव्य + छ (IV. 2. 114) = बाभ्रव्य + ईय (VII. 1. 2) = बाभ्रव्य् + ईय (VI. 4. 148) = बाभ्रव् + ईय (VI. 4. 150). Here, had the substitute अव् which replaced the ओ of बाभ्रो, been sthânivat to ओ, rule VI. 4. 150 ('there is elision of the य of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant, when long ई follows'), could not have applied. But this substitute अव् is not sthânivat for the purposes of rule VI. 4. 150, inasmuch as that rule does not apply to any letter that *precedes* the substitute अव्, but to the very letters of the substitute itself.

Similarly the word नैधेयः, which is evolved from the root धा, in this wise नि + धा + कि (III. 3. 92) = नि + धा + इ (I. 3. 8) = नि + ध् + ० + इ (VI. 4. 64) = निधि. Let us then form a secondary derivative from the word निधि applying ढक् (IV. 1. 122), the whole of which affix is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2). Thus निधि + एय = निध् + एय (VI. 4. 148) = नैधेय (VII. 2. 118). Here, the lopa substituted for the आ of धा by VI. 4. 64 is not sthânivat for the purposes of the application of IV. 1. 122 by which the affix ढक् is added. Rule V. 1. 122 says, 'ḍhak is added to a word ending in इ, provided it be a word containing *two* vowels.' Now निधि ends in इ and contains two vowels; but if the lopa were sthânivat to the elided आ, then it would be a word of *three* syllables. That is however not so; because the rule enjoining the affix ढक् is not applicable to anything *preceding* the lopâdeśa, but is enjoined with regard to something after this substitution.

न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णानुस्वारदीर्घजश्चर्विधिषु ॥५८॥

पदानि ॥ न, पदान्त-द्विर्वचन-वरे-यलोप-स्वर-सवर्ण-अनुस्वार-दीर्घ-जश्-चर्-विधिषु, (स्थानिवत्)

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेणातिप्रसक्तः स्थानिवद्भाव एतेषु विधिषु प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

58. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvâra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jaś and char letters.

This sûtra lays down an exception to the previous sûtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthânivat under certain conditions. This sûtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthânivat under the following circumtances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.' Thus the अ of अस् is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have अस्ति 'he is,' स्तः 'they two are,' सन्ति 'they are.' Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the स of स्तः and सन्ति is

replaced by an âdeśa called लोप्, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word स्तः there is this âdeśa existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible âdeśa will be sthânivat, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i. e. the affixes तः and अन्ति being ङित् (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of अ by the last sûtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence कौ स्तः 'who two are' the final औ of कौ and the invisible अ of स्तः ought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into आव (VI. 1. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sûtra, by which the change of औ into आव् is a पदान्त विधि or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have कौ स्तः। So also in तानि सन्ति, rule VI. 1. 77 is not applied.

2. द्विर्वचनविधिः 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of दधि+अत्र we have दध्यत्र. Here इ is changed into य्. If this य् were sthânivat to इ, then the rule by which ध् could be doubled before य् would be inapplicable. But य् is not equivalent to इ, though its substitute ; and we have the doubling of ध् and get the form दद्ध्यत्र. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthânî.

3. वरेविधिः 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्.' The affix वरच् is a kṛit affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from ईश् 'to rule' we have ईश्वरः 'ruler.' So from the intensive verb यायाय we have यायावरः 'a vagrant.' It is formed in this wise यायाय+वर (III. 2. 176)=यायाय्+० +वर(VI. 4. 48). Here the अ of य has been dropped and replaced by lopa, on account of its being followed by the ârdhadhâtuka affix वरच्. The next step is to drop the य् by rule VI. 1. 66 which declares that the letters व् and य् are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except य् *i. e.*, beginning with consonants of वल् pratyâhâra. Thus याया + o + वर. Now there is a rule (VI. 4. 64) which declares that the final long आ of a base is dropped before ârdhadhâtuka affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the âdeśa 'lopa,' which replaced the vowel अ, be considered as sthânivat, and वर be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the आ of याया requires to be dropped. But this sûtra prevents this and we have the form यायावर; as, अप्सु यायावरः प्रवपेत पिण्डान् ॥

4. यलोपविधिः 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.' Thus there is a verb कण्डूय 'to scratch'. In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix ति (tech. क्तिच्) is added. Thus कण्डूय +ति=कण्डूय्+०+ति, the अ of य being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now there is a rule (VI. 1. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of य् before consonantal affixes. Now if the lopa-substitute be considered as sthânivat to अ, then the affix ति is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of य्, would not apply. The present sûtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form कण्डूतिः 'scratching.'

5. स्वरविधि: 'a rule relating to accent.' There is a sûtra (VI. 1. 193) which says that when a word is formed by an affix that has an indicatory ल्, the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udâtta accent. Now ण्वुल् is an affix that has an indicatory ल्, the real affix being अक (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desiderative verb चिकीर्ष 'desirous of doing' we have:— चिकीर्ष + अक = चिकीर्ष् + ० + अक, the अ being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now if the zero be considered as sthânivat, then the accent must fall on this latent अ but it is not so. The accent falls on the ई of की; and we have चिकीर्षकः, so also जिहीर्षकः ॥

6. सवर्णविधि: 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.' To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb शिष् in the imperative mood. The affix हि is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb शिष् belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhâdi. This class of verbs take the vikaraṇa श्नम् (III. 1. 78) the श् and म् being indicatory the real affix is न. This न is inserted between the radical vowel and the final consonant (I. 1. 47). Therefore we have the following equation:—शिष् + श्नम्+हि=शि+न +ष् +हि=शि+न् + 0 +ष् + हि. The अ of न is dropped by VI. 4. 111, which declares that the अ of श्नम् is dropped before those sârvadhâtuka terminations which are कित् or ङित्. By I. 2. 4 all sârvadhâtuka terminations which have not got an indicatory प् are considered as ङित् The affix हि therefore is a ङित् sârvadhâtuka affix, and by rule III. 4. 87, हि is to be regarded as अपित्, not having an indicatory प्. The next stage is :—शि+न्+०+ष्+धि; the हि being changed into धि by rule (VI. 4. 101) which says that 'हि is changed into धि, when it follows a root which ends in a consonant of झल् pratyâhâra:' here ष् and ध् are changed by general rules of sandhi into ड् and ढ् and we have शि + न् + ० + ड् + ढि (VIII. 4. 41). Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the न् is changed into anusvâra when followed by a consonant of झल् pratyâhâra.' Therefore we have :—शि + ं + ० + ड् + ढि. This is the form to which the present rule is applicable. Thus, there is a rule (VIII. 4. 58) which says that an anusvâra followed by a letter of यय् pratyâhâra *i.e.*, any consonant except ह्, श्, ष् and स् is changed into a letter homogeneous or savarṇa to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthânivat to the अ which it replaces, the anusvâra cannot be changed into ण् as homogeneous to ड्. But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form शि + ण् + ड् + ढि = शिण्ड्ढि or शिण्ढि; so also पिण्ढि.

7. अनुस्वारविधि: 'a rule relating to anusvâra.' The above example will serve the purpose here :—शि + न् + ० + ड् + ढि. This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24), requires the न् to be changed into anusvâra.

Now if zero be considered as sthânivat, then न् is not followed by a letter of झल् pratyâhâra, and cannot be changed into anusvâra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthânivat, and we change the न् into anusvâra. Other examples are शि + न् + ० + ष् + अन्ति = शिंषन्ति; so also पिंषन्ति ॥

8. दीर्घविधिः 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.' Let us form the Inst. sing. of the noun प्रतिदिवन्. The termination of the Inst. sing. is टा or आ. Therefore, we have प्रतिदिवन् + आ = प्रतिदिव् + ० + न् + आ. Here the अ has been elided by rule VI. 4. 134, which teaches that words ending in अन् lose their अ before terminations technically called *Bha*. The termination of Inst. sing. is a *Bha* termination by force of rule I. 4. 18. The next rule that now comes into operation, is VIII. 2. 77, which requires the lengthening of the short penultimate vowels, of the इक् pratyâhâra, of words that end in र् or व् and are followed by a consonant. Here दिव् is a root that ends in व्; and if the zero be considered as sthânivat, then this व् is not followed by a consonant, but by a latent vowel, and so the short इ of दिव् will not be lengthened. This rule, however, provides for such lengthening, and therefore we have :—प्रतिदिव् + ० + न् + आ = प्रतिदीव्ना ॥

9. जश्त्वविधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyâhâra जश्, in the place of hard consonants' In this case also the âdeśa that takes the place of a vowel is not sthânivat.

Let us add the affix क्तिन् to the root अद् 'to eat,' compounded with the word स or समान. In Vedic literature अद् is replaced by घस्, (II. 4. 39); so we have, स + घस् + क्तिन् = स + घस् + ति = स + घ् + ० + स् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = स + घ् + ० + ० + ति (VIII. 2. 26) = स + घ् + ० + ० + धि (VIII. 2. 40).

It is at this stage, that rule VIII. 4. 53 requires the घ् to be changed into ग्. This is a जश् rule, and teaches that in the place of letters of झल् class, the letters of जश् class are substituted, if followed by letters of झश् class. If the zero which was obtained by dropping the अ of घ, be considered as sthânivat, then the घ् is not followed by a consonant of झश् class, and cannot be changed into ग्. But it is not so. Therefore सघ् + ० + ० + धि = सग्धिः (Yaj. Ved. XVIII. 9). The various rules, by which first अ is omitted, and then स is dropped, have been referred to in brackets, and will be explained in their proper places.

Similarly the word बब्धाम्, which is the Imperative (loṭ) 2nd per. dual of the root भस्, and is thus evolved. This root belongs to the Juhutyâdi class, and therefore, there is reduplication. Thus भस् + ताम् = भस् + भस् + ताम् = भ + भस् + ताम् = ब + भस् + ताम् = ब + भ् + ० + स् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + धाम् (VIII. 2. 40) = ब + ब् + ० + ० + धाम् = बब्धाम् ॥ Here the change of भ् into ब् is by the application of VIII. 4. 53, which is a jaś rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthânivat.

10. चर्विधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर् pratyâhâra instead of other consonants.' In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthânivat.

Let us form the 2nd pers. sing. perfect of the verb अद् 'to eat.' अद् is replaced by घस् (II. 4. 40) and अतुस् is the termination of the second person singular of liṭ or perfect tense. घस् + अतुस् = घस् + घस् + अतुस् (VI. 1. 8) = घ + घस् + अतुस् (VII. 4. 60) = ज + घस् + अतुस् (VIII. 4. 54) = ज + घ् + ० + स् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98) = जघ् + ० + सतुस्.

At this stage comes the चर् rule in operation, which says that the letters of झल् pratyâhâra are replaced by those of चर् pratyâhâra, when followed by letters of खर् pratyâhâra. Here घ् is a letter of झल् class, and if zero is not sthânivat, it is followed by स् which is a letter of खर् class, and therefore घ् is required to be changed into क् of चर् class. By the present rule, zero is not sthânivat and thus we have :—जक्+सतुस्=जक्षतुः (VIII. 3. 60).

Similarly अक्षन् the 3rd per. plural aorist of घस् is thus formed:—अ + घस् + च्लि + अन् = अ + घस् + अन् (II. 4. 80) = अ + घ् + ० + स् + अन् (VI. 4. 98). Here had the lopa been sthânivat, rule VIII. 4. 55 could not have applied. But it being a char rule, the lopa is not sthânivat. Therefore we have, अक्षन्.

When lopa is the substitute of a vowel, it is not sthânivat, for the purposes of the application of the rules of accent, rules relating to the doubling of letters, and the rules relating to the elision of ya. In other places, with the exception of the above three ; the lopa substitute of a vowel is, and must be treated as sthânivat. Thus बहुखट्वकः, कियोः, गियोः, वाय्वोः. In these cases the lopa-âdeśa being sthânivat, the rules relating to accent, lengthening and the elision of ya, do not apply.

द्विर्वचनेऽचि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विर्वचने, अचि, (स्थानिवत्, आदेशः, अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि अजादेशः स्थानिवद्भवति द्विर्वचन एव कर्त्तव्ये ॥

59. Before an affix having an initial vowel, which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel even in form, only for the purposes of reduplication and no further.

This sûtra has been explained in different ways by the authors of the Kasika and of the Siddhânta Kaumudi. According to the latter, the sûtra means :— 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows, that is a cause of reduplication, a substitute shall not take the place of a preceding vowel, whilst the reduplication is yet to be made : but the reduplication having been made,

the substitution may then take place.' The explanation given by Kasika is more in harmony with the Great Commentary. For all practical purposes, the two explanations lead to the same conclusion. According to Kasika, the vowel-substitute is sthânivat, in the sense, that it is exactly of the same form as the original, and retains this form only for a fixed time *viz.*, so long as the reduplication is being made; but as soon as the reduplication has been made, the substitute takes its proper form. This rule has its scope in the rules relating (a) to the elision of long आ, (b) to the elision of the penultimate, (c) to the elision of the affix णिच्, (d) to the substitution of semi-vowels for vowels, and lastly (e) to the substitution of अय्, अव्, आय् and आव् for ए, ओ ऐ and औ respectively by the rules of sandhi.

(*a*). Elision of आ. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root पा 'to drink.' The termination of 2nd person perfect is अतुस्. This is, therefore, a termination beginning with a vowel, and it causes the reduplication of the root. The conditions of the present sûtra all exist in this. Thus we have पा + अतुस् = प् + ० + अतुस् (VI. 4, 64). Here the आ is elided by VI. 4. 64. which teaches that 'the आ of the root is elided before ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with a vowel and which are कित् or ङित् and before इट्.' The affix अतुस् is such an affix (I. 2. 5, III. 4. 115).

Now comes the rule about reduplication which is contained in sûtra VI. 1. 8, and teaches that a root consisting of a single vowel is reduplicated before the terminations of the perfect. Here, by the elision of आ, the only visible root left to us is प् which is a consonant without any vowel. The rule of reduplication, therefore, would not have applied to it, because there is no vowel in it, but for the present sûtra, which solves the difficulty. Here the vowel-substitute zero must be considered sthânivat i. e. as if it were the very आ itself. Thus we have पा + प् + ०+ अतुस् = पपतुस् (VII. 4. 59). The long आ of the reduplicative syllable has been shortened by VII. 4. 59. So also पपुः।

(*b*). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of हन् 'to kill.' हन् + अतुस् = ह् + ० + न् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98).

Here also the preliminary conditions are all fulfilled, the affix begins with a vowel and it causes the reduplication of the root. The penultimate अ of हन् is replaced by the substitute lopa by VI. 4. 98, which teaches that the roots गम् 'to go' हन् 'to kill' and a few others lose their penultimate before affixes beginning with a vowel and which are also कित् or ङित्. We know अतुस् to be such an affix. For the reasons already given, we can not reduplicate the consonants हन् as they have no vowel. However, this reduplication is effected by virtue of the present rule, and we have:—ह + ह्न + अतुस् = जघ्नतुः (VII. 4. 62, VII. 3. 55). The first ह् is changed into ज् by VII. 4. 62 and the second ह् into घ् by VII. 3. 55.

(*c*). The elision of the affix णिच्. Let us form the Aorist (luṅ) of the causative form of अट्. The causative is formed by adding the affix णिच् to the root; and the aorist takes the augment अ. Thus we have :—अ + अट् + णिच् + त् = आट् + इ + त् = आट् + इ + चङ् + त्. The affix चङ् (III. 1. 48) is added in forming the aorist of causatives. The letters च् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix being अ. Now by VI. 4. 51, the affix णिच् is elided before an årdhadhâtuka affix that does not take the intermediate इ. Now चङ् is such an affix. Therefore we have आट् + ० + अत्.

At this stage, comes into operation another rule (VI. 1. 11), which declares that 'the root is reduplicated before the affix चङ्.' The चङ् is, thus, an affix which causes reduplication; it is an affix which also begins with a vowel. Therefore, it satisfies the conditions of this sûtra. Therefore, the zero which was a substitute in place of the vowel इ, becomes sthânivat to इ; as if it were the very इ itself. Thus we have the reduplicative syllable टि, by rule VI. 1. 2, which says that a verb beginning with a vowel reduplicates its second syllable. But as soon as the reduplication is over, the âdeśa takes up its original form of zero. Thus आटिट् + ० + अत् = आटिटत्.

(*d*). The fourth class of cases, where this sûtra has scope, is the substitution of यण् for vowels. Thus let us form the perfect 2nd person singular of कृ 'to do' :—कृ + अतुस् = क्र् + अतुस्, the semi-vowel र् taking the place of ऋ by the general rule of sandhi VI. 1. 77. Now we have already learned that अतुस् is an affix which causes reduplication and it begins with a vowel. Now र् is a substitute which comes in the place of a vowel (*i. e.*, ऋ), it will therefore be sthânivat by this sûtra. Had it not been sthânivat, the consonants क् could not be reduplicated, as they have no vowel. The substitute र् being taken equal to ऋ, we reduplicate कृ; in reduplication the क is changed into च् by VII. 4. 62, and ऋ into अ by VII. 4. 66. Thus we have :—चक्रतुः; similarly चक्रुः ।

(*e*). The fifth case is the substitution of अय् &c. Let us form 1st person singular of the perfect of नी 'to lead:' नी + णल् = नै + अ = नाय् + अ. The ई is vriddhied before the termination अ of the perfect (VII. 2. 115), and then changed into आय् by the general rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 78). Now the अ of the perfect causes reduplication, and it is an affix which begins with a vowel. It satisfies the conditions of this sûtra. Therefore the आय् which was a substitute for ऐ, being a vowel substitute, becomes sthânivat to ऐ in form. In reduplicating the word नाय्, we reduplicate as if it were still नै. Thus we have the form निनाय and not ननाय. Similarly निनय, लुलव, and लुलाव.

Why have we used the word "dvirvachane" in the sûtra? Without it, the aphorism would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel

is like the original vowel." Let us form जग्ले the 3rd per. sing, perfect tense (लिट्) of the root ग्लै "to be exhausted," in the atmanepada. The affix of 3rd per. sing. atm. of liṭ, is एश् (III. 4, 81). Thus ग्लै + एश् = ग्ला + एश् (VI. 1. 45). Now here ऐ is changed into आ, on account of the affix एश्; this affix causes reduplication, but still आ is not to be considered as sthânivat to ऐ. For if आ be considered so, then in the next stage ग्ला + एश् = ग्ल् + ० + एश् (VI. 4. 64) the lopa will be regarded as sthânivat to ऐ and the reduplicative syllable will be जि and not ज; the form being जिग्ले and not जग्ले. But आ is not sthânivat to ऐ, because *for the purposes of reduplication*, the change of ऐ into आ is immaterial; it is the second and further change of आ into zero which is *directly* connected with reduplication, (for if zero be not considered sthânivat, there can be no reduplication); and therefore, this substitute zero should be regarded as sthânivat to आ.

Why do we say "which causes reduplication?" Without these words the sûtra would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." In that case we could not get the form दुद्यूषति, 3rd per. sing, desiderative present tense of दिव् 'to shine, to play.' This form is thus evolved:—दिव्+सन् (III. 1. 7) = दि+ऊ+सन् (VI. 4. 19) = द्य्+ऊ+सन् (VI. 1. 77). Here, the change of इ into य् is caused by ऊ (tech. ऊठ्), which begins with a vowel; is this य् to be regarded as sthânivat to इ? No, because ऊ does not *cause* reduplication, it is सन् which causes reduplication. Therefore the equation is:—द्यू + सन् = दुद्यूस (VI. 1. 9) = दुद्यूषति. If य् could be regarded like इ, then the form would have been दिद्यूषति.

Why do we say "beginning with a vowel"? Otherwise the sûtra would have run thus:—"Before an affix which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel, is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." The affix यङ् of the Intensive verbs causes reduplication (VI. 1. 9); but as it does not begin with a vowel, the substitute will not be sthânivat. Let us form जेघ्रीयते the 3rd per. sing. Intensive of the root घ्रा 'to smell.' Thus घ्रा + यङ् = घ्री + यङ् (VII. 4. 31) = जेघ्रीयते (VII. 4. 82). Here, आ is changed into ई on account of यङ्; but ई is not sthânivat to आ; had it been so, the form would have been जघ्रीयते. Similarly देध्मीयते.

अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदर्शनम्, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदर्शनमश्रवणमनुच्चारणमनुपलब्धिरभावो वर्णविनाश इत्यनर्थान्तरमेतैः शब्दैर्योऽर्थोऽभिधीयते तस्य लोप इतीयं संज्ञा भवति ॥

60. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision. When a letter or word-form becomes latent,

is neither heard, nor pronounced, nor written, it becomes lopa or is said to be elided. Lopa is the term for the disappearance of anything previously apparent.

In Sanskrit Grammar, this "lopa" is considered as a substitute or âdeśa, and as such this grammatical *zero* has all the rights and liabilities of the thing which it replaces. This blank or lopa is in several places treated as having a real existence and rules are made applicable to it, in the same way as to any ordinary substitute that has an apparent form. The Grammarians do not content themselves with one sort of blank, but have invented several others; there are many kinds of them, such as lopa blank, ślu blank, lup blank, and luk blank, which like different sorts of zeroes of a Mathematician, have different functions.

The word lopa occurs in sûtras VI. 1. 66 and VI. 4. 118 &c. The lopa substitute is a sense substitute, and not a form substitute. Thus when we say 'let the substitute lopa take the place of such and such a letter or word,' we do not mean that the letters ल्, ओ, प् and अ should be substituted there, but the sense of the thing, namely 'disappearance.'

प्रत्ययस्य लुक्श्लुलुपः ॥ ६१ ॥पदानि॥ प्रत्ययस्य, लुक्-श्लु-लुपः, (अदर्शनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययादर्शनस्य लुक् श्लु लुप् इत्येताः संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, ślu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term luk, that disappearance gets the appellation of luk, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms ślu or lup, the disappearance gets the name of ślu or lup.

Thus in अद्+शप्लुक्+ति=अत्ति 'he eats.' Here the vikaraṇa शप् has been elided by using the word luk (II. 4. 72). Similarly in जुहोति 'he invokes,' the vikaraṇa शप् is elided by the word ślu (II. 4. 75), so in वरणाः 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called varaṇâ.' Here the Taddhita affix indicating vicinity has been elided by the word lup. (IV. 2. 82),

Why do we use the words "of the affix"? Without these words, the sûtra would have run thus:—"The disappearance is called luk, ślu or lup." So that the disappearance of a *base* would also be caused by the use of these terms. Thus in II. 4. 70, there would have been 'luk' of the bases âgastya, and kauṇḍinyâ; which however is not intended. In that sûtra, the 'luk' of the affixes is only intended. So also in sûtra IV. 3. 168 there would have been the substitution of 'luk' for the *bases* of the words.

प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यय-लोपे, प्रत्यय-लक्षणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययलोपे कृते प्रत्ययलक्षणं प्रत्ययहेतुकं कार्यं भवति ॥

62. When elision of an affix has taken place (lopa), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependant upon it, take place as if it were present.

This sûtra declares that when an affix disappears by lopa-elision its potency does not disappear. Thus the term 'pada' is defined to be that which ends in a case-affix or a conjugational-affix. But after certain bases, these affixes vanish; still those bases become 'pada' in spite of the vanishing of the whole affix. How can an operation directed by an affix take place, when the affix itself vanishes, is a doubt which may naturally arise. This sûtra answers the question. Though an affix may be elided by lopa, yet an operation of which such an affix was the cause, must take place. Thus अग्निचित् is a pada though the case-termination has been elided. Similarly the word अधोक् 'he milked;' which is the Imperfect (लङ्) of दुह्, and is thus formed. अदोह्+तिप्=अदोह्+त् (III. 4. 100)=अदोह्+० (VI. 1. 68)=अदोघ्+० (VIII. 2. 32) (here ह् is changed into घ् by taking the word 'aduh' as a 'pada') अधोघ्+० (VIII. 2. 37)=अधोग् (VIII. 2. 39)=अधोक्.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यय in this aphorism again, when its anuvṛitti was understood in this sûtra from the last? This repetition indicates that the present rule applies where the *whole* of the affix is elided, and not when a *portion* of an affix is elided. The present sûtra, therefore, does not apply to forms like आघ्नीय and सङ्ग्मीय. These forms are the 1st person sing. लिङ् Atmanepada of हन् and गम्. Thus आहन् + इट् = आहन् + अ (III. 4. 106) = आहन् + सीयुट् + अ (III. 4. 102) = आहन् + ईय्+अ. Here, स् a portion of the affix सीयुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79; now there will be no प्रत्ययलक्षण of this partial elision of an affix. Had it been so, the final nasal न् of आहन् would have been elided by VI. 4. 37: but that is not so: and we have आघ्नीय (VII. 3. 54 and VI. 4. 98).

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised. The word प्रत्ययलक्षण, therefore, means the effect by which an affix could be recognised. The orthographical changes, like the following, are not however pratyaya-lakshaṇa. In forming the genitive singular of रै 'wealth,' we have रै + अस् = रायः, here, the change of ऐ into आय् by the rules of sandhi, though caused by the affix अस्; is not such an effect, which the affix causes, *by virtue of being an affix,* but it is an effect caused by the accidental fact, that the affix begins with a vowel, and thus gives scope to the euphonic rule VI. 1. 78. Therefore, when in forming the genitive compound of रायः + कुलं, we elide the case-affix अस्, we get the form रैकुलम्. Here the elided affix will not cause the peculiar orthographic change mentioned above, which is dependent upon its letters, and not upon the affix as such.

न लुमताङ्गस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुमता, अङ्गस्य, (प्रत्यय-लक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुमता शब्देन लुप्ते प्रत्यये यदङ्गं तस्य प्रत्ययलक्षणं कार्यं न भवति ॥

63. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लु, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sûtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लुक्, श्लु, or लुप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix by force of the words लुप् &c.; and by the word लोप. In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not.

The word अङ्ग in this sûtra requires some explanation. "A root, followed by a suffix (pratyaya), is raised to the dignity of a base (prâtipadika), and finally becomes a real word (pada) when it is finished by receiving a case-termination (vibhakti). Every base, with regard to the suffix which is attached to it, is called Anga, body."

Thus the word गर्गाः is the plural of the word गार्ग्यः. The word गार्ग्यः is formed by adding the affix यञ् to गर्ग (IV. 1. 105); the force of the indicatory ञ् being to cause the vṛiddhi of the first vowel of the word (VII. 2. 117). But in forming the plural of गार्ग्य, rule II. 4. 64 presents itself, which declares that there is *luk* of the affix यञ् when the word takes the plural. Here the affix यञ् is elided by the word *luk*, which means not only the elision of the य of गार्ग्य but also the shortening of आ into अ, that is, the affix being elided, it vanishes altogether, leaving no trace behind, in the shape of the vṛiddhing of the first vowel, which the affix was competent to cause.

Similarly मृष्टः is the 3rd per. dual present tense of मृज् 'to clean.' It belongs to Adâdi class in which the vikaraṇa शप् is elided by 'luk' (II. 4. 72); and hence there is no vṛiddhi substitution, which would have taken place by VII. 2. 114, (the ik of the base मृज् is vṛiddhied before verbal affixes).

Similarly जुहुतः 'they two sacrifice'; here the vikaraṇa शप् has been elided by using the word 'ślu' (II. 4. 75, let ślu be substituted in the room of śap after the verbs hu &c). The effect of this elision is, that there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base, which शप् was competent to cause.

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing लु, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus कृ+णिच्+यक्+ते=कारि+यक्+ते=कार्+यक्+ते=कार्यते. Here the elision of the affix ṇich is by 'lopa,' (VI. 4. 51) and hence though the affix vanishes, its effect remains. Why do we say 'in respect of an Anga or inflective base?' Observe पञ्च 'five,' सप्त 'seven,' पयः 'milk,' साम 'sâma veda.' Here in the word pañcha, the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22

(after the words called shaṭ, the जस् and शस् are elided by 'luk'). Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base; such as lengthening, as in râjan, 'a king,' 1. p. râjânaḥ 'kings.' But though it is inoperative as regards the *anga*, the elided affix is not altogether inactive. It retains the virtue of raising the base to the dignity of a pada. Thus:—पंचन् + जस् = पंचन् + ०, (luk VII. 1. 22). The word pañchan is now a *pada*, and as such, it drops its final न्.

अचोऽन्त्यादि टि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अन्त्यादि, टि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचां संनिविष्टानां योऽन्त्योऽच् तदादि शब्दरूपं टिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

64. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called टि.

This sûtra defines टि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निचित् the portion इत् is टि; so also in सामसुत् the portion उत्. The word टि occurs in sûtra III. 4. 79.

The word अचः in the sûtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of nirdhâraṇa or specification; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वः, उपधा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वादौवर्ण समुदायेऽन्त्यादलः पूर्वोयो वर्णः सोऽलेवोपधा संज्ञो भवति ॥

65. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

This defines उपधा or penultimate. Thus in the words पच्, भिद्, बुध्, वृत् the letters अ, इ, उ, and ऋ are उपधा.

The word 'upadhâ' occurs in sûtra VII. 2. 116.

तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन्, इति, निर्दिष्टे, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थनिर्देशे पूर्वस्यैव कार्यं भवति नोत्तरस्य ॥

66. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sûtras, the operation directed, is to be understood as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sûtra. When in a sûtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sûtra is to be per-

formed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sûtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77) the word अचि is in the locative case, which sûtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ ऌ followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into य्, व्, र्, ल्, (यण्). The literal translation of the sûtra being:—'Of इक् there is यण् in अच्.' The force of '*in*' or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus दधि + उदकम् = दध्युदकम् ; so मध्विदम्, पचत्योदनम् ॥

The word nirdishṭa (meaning 'exhibited') has been used in the sûtra to indicate immediateness. Thus in अग्निचित्, the इ of अग्नि is not directly followed by the इ of चित्, there being the letter च् intervening, therefore, rule VI. 1. 77, does not apply here: and we have no sandhi.

तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, इति, उत्तरस्य, (निर्दिष्टे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मादिति पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देश उत्तरस्यैव कार्यं भवति न पूर्वस्य ॥

67. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sûtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sûtra VIII. 4. 61 declares that 'after उद्, of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.' Thus उद्+स्थानम्. Here the word उदः is exhibited in the original sûtra in the ablative case, and by the present sûtra it means that a dental letter थ् must be substituted in the place of sthâna, and by I. 1. 54 *ante*, this dental takes the place of स्; we have उद्+थ्थानम्=उत्थ्-थानम्. Similarly in sûtra तिङ् ङतिङः (VIII.2. 18, 'a word ending in a conjugational affix, when following after a word ending in a non-conjugational affix, becomes anudâtta.') Here the word 'atiṅaḥ' is exhibited in the ablative case, therefore, the operation directed by this aphorism, namely, the substitution of anudâtta accent, must take place in the word that follows. Thus ओदनं पचति ; but not so in पचत्योदनमिति ॥

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, रूपम्, शब्दस्य, अशब्दसंज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शास्त्रे स्वमेव रूपं शब्दस्य ग्राह्यं बोध्यंप्रत्याय्यं भवति न बाह्योऽर्थः शब्दसंज्ञां वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * सित्तद्विशेषाणां वृक्षाद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * पित्पर्यायवचनस्य च स्वाद्यर्थम् * ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * जित्पर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् * ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * झित्तद्विशेषाणाञ्च मत्स्याद्यर्थम् * ॥

68. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्व which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word रूप denotes 'the individual form of a word.' The sense of the sûtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्वं and रूप, *viz.*, its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न्, इ and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पावकः, ज्वलनः &c.

In this science, therefore, the very word-form is to be taken, and understood and operated upon, and not external sense: with the exception of words which are definitions, in the latter case the things defined are to be taken.

This sûtra is begun in order to remove the difficulty which might otherwise arise from a consideration that a word connotes a certain meaning, and as no grammatical operation is possible in a concrete object, we must take the words having the same meaning. As when a person is called to bring a 'cow,' he brings the animal cow, and not the letters c, o, w. It may therefore be said, that as no grammatical operation is possible in a material thing, we may take all the names synonymous with the word and operate upon them; this sûtra removes that doubt.

Thus the sûtra अग्नेर्ढक् (IV. 2. 33) declares :—"that the affix 'ḍhak' comes after the word 'agni'." Thus अग्नि + ढक् = आग्नेयम् "belonging to agni," as in the following sentence आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत् . Here the word अग्नि indicates the individual word-form अग्नि and not its synonyms. Similarly sûtra IV. 2. 19 declares :—'let there be optionally ठक् after उदश्वित् .' As औदश्वित्कम् (VII. 3. 50 and 51) or औदश्वितम् . The rule applies to the word-form 'udaśvita' meaning 'curd-milk' and not to तक्र, अरिष्ट, कालशेय, दण्डाहत and मथित, which are synonyms.

There is an important exception to this rule, and that is in favour of terms which are technical terms of Grammar and have been so defined.

Thus दाधाघ्वदाप् (I. 1. 20) and तरप्तमपौ घः (I. 1. 22). Here the words 'घु' and 'घ' denote the words connoted by those terms and not to their word-form. There are, however, some sûtras in Pâṇini which are ap-

parently exceptions to this rule. These exceptions have been arranged under four heads, technically called सित्, पित्, जित्, and झित्. When there is a rule about a word, it may mean that very word-form, or words representing species falling under that word, or words which are synonymous with it. Thus rule II. 4. 12 declares, :—"वृक्ष 'tree' मृग 'deer,' तृण 'grass,' &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva." Here the word वृक्ष stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, वृक्ष. Thus we have dvandva-compound of प्लक्ष + न्यग्रोध, as प्लक्षन्यग्रोधम् or प्लक्षन्यग्रोधाः। Such sûtras are called सित्.

Then in sûtra III. 4. 40, we have an example of पित्. That sûtra means "the word पुष 'to feed' takes the affix णमुल् (अम्) when compounded with the word स्व." Here the word 'स्व' means both the word-form स्व, as well as the synonyms of स्व and the species of स्व. Thus स्व and धन 'wealth' are synonyms; while स्व 'wealth' and गो 'cow' are genus and species. Thus स्व + पुष् + णमुल् = स्वपोषम्. Similarly रैपोषम्, धनपोषम्, गोपोषम्, अश्वपोषम्. Such sûtras are called पित्.

Then in sûtra II. 4. 23, we have an example of जित्. "A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word सभा 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word râjâ, or by a word denoting a non-human being." Here the synonyms only of the word 'râjâ' are taken, and neither the word-form 'râjâ,' nor the special instances falling under it. Thus इन 'king'+ सभा = इनसभम् 'king's assembly,' ईश्वर + सभा = ईश्वरसभम् 'king's assembly.' But not राजसभम्, but राजसभा. Nor can we take particular kings, such as चन्द्रगुप्त or पुष्पमित्र. In their case we must have पुष्पमित्रसभा, चन्द्रगुप्तसभा.

Then in sûtra IV. 4. 35, we have an example of झित्. The sûtra means "the words पक्षि 'bird' मत्स्य 'fish' मृग 'deer,' take the affix ठक् when the meaning is the killer thereof." Here the words पक्षि &c. denote both the word-forms पक्षि &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पक्षि + ठक् = पाक्षिकः 'a bird-killer,' मात्स्यिकः, 'a fish-catcher.' शकुनि + ठक् = शाकुनिकः 'a vulture-killer.' But we cannot take the synonyms of 'पक्षि,' &c. except in the case of 'मत्स्य,' when we may take the word 'मीन.' As मात्स्यिकः and मैनिकः 'a fish killer.'

अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, उदित्, सवर्णस्य, च, अप्रत्ययः (स्वंरूपं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अण् गृह्यमाण उदिच्च सवर्णानां ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य प्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

69. The letters of the Pratyâhâra अण् i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as to their

homogeneous letters, except when they are used as pratyâyâs or affixes.

The pratyâhâra अण् in thus sûtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अण् pratyâhâra refers to the second ण् of लण्. The letters included in अण्, and the letters having an indicatory उ, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कु refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, टु, तु, and पु, as in sûtra I. 3. 8. Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sûtra, being drawn from the previous sûtra. Thus sûtra आद्गुणः (VI. 1. 87), 'when a vowel comes after अ, guṇa is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर+ईशः=नरेशः; but महा+ईशः=महेशः। So also in sûtra अस्य च्वौ (VII. 4. 32), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50) follows.' Here long आ is also included; thus कृष्ण+करोति = कृष्णीकरोति, and खट्वा+करोति=खट्वीकरोति. So also in sûtra यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148). 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sûtra III. 2. 168, says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words âśansa and bhiksha, there is उ.' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one.

तपरस्तत्कालस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ त-परः, तत्-कालस्य, (स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तपरो वर्णस्तत्कालस्यात्मनातुल्यकालस्य गुणान्तरयुक्तस्य सवर्णस्य ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

70. The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time.

By the previous sûtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ; and इ, ई; &c. This sûtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the letter. Thus अत् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly उत् means short उ only and not long or protracted उ. We had to refer to this sûtra, in our very first sûtra, in explaining the term आत्.

The sûtra consists of two words तपर: and तत्कालस्य. Taparaḥ means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kâla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त्, refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत् will include the udâtta, anudâtta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted forms.

This sûtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अण् of the previous sûtra does not run into this sûtra. Any other letter than अण् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sûtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sûtra which would therefore mean that an अण् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sûtra VII. 1. 9 अतोभिस ऐस्. 'After words ending in अत् (i. e. short अ), ऐस् takes the place of भिस्.' Thus वृक्षैः. But in खट्वा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्वाभिः.

आदिरन्त्येन सहेता ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, अन्त्येन, सह, इता, (स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरन्त्येनेत्संज्ञकेन सह गृह्यमाणस्तन्मध्यपतितानां वर्णानां ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

71. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

This sûtra explains the mode of interpreting pratyâhâras. Thus the pratyâhâra अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क्.

Why do we say with the '*final* indicatory letter?' Because a pratyâhâra like सुट् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final ट् of औट् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial ट् of टा and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sûtra clears up the doubt. A pratyâhâra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत्.

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, विधिः, तद्-अन्तस्य, (स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन विशेषणेन विधिर्विधीयते सतदन्तस्यात्मान्तस्य समुदायस्य ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * समास प्रत्ययविधौ तदन्तविधेः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ *

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * उगिद्वर्णग्रहणवर्जम् ॥ *

परिभाषा ॥ * यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावल्ग्रहणे ॥ *

72. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sûtra consists of three words :—येन 'by what (attribute),' विधिः 'rule,' तदन्तस्य 'having that (attribute) at its end.'

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97) declaring "let there be the affix यत् after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means and includes "after the roots *ending* in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + यत् = चेयम्. Therefore, this sûtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words *ending* in vowels; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sûtra एरच् (III. 3. 56) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ. Thus इ + अच् = अयः, चि + अच् = चयः ॥

Vart :—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samâsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sûtra II. 1. 24, declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्टं + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'involved in pain.' The present sûtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that *ends* in śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्टं + परमश्रितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sûtra IV. 1. 99 declares "that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्." Thus नड + फक् = नाडायनः। But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूत्रनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूत्रनड will be called सौत्रनाडि and not as above.

The above vârtika is however qualified by the following :—

Vart :—The above vârtika does not apply to words formed by affixes

that have an indicatory उक् (उ, ऋ, ऌ), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory उ, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kṛitavat will apply also to the word which ends in kṛitavat. Thus the feminine of kṛitavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of sukṛitavat will be sukṛitavatî. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 अत इञ् says "after अ there is the affix इञ्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दक्ष + इञ् = दाक्षि 'the son of Daksha.'

Vart:—When a term, which denotes a letter, is exhibited in a rule in the form of the locative case and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it.

Thus sûtra VI. 4. 77, achi śnu dhâtu bhruvâm yvor iyaṅ uvaṅau, means "iyaṅ and uvaṅ are the substitutes of what ends with the pratyaya śnu and what ends in a verbal root in इ or उ, whether long or short, and of the inflective base bhrû, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows." Here the word 'achi' is exhibited in the seventh case, which literally means 'when a vowel follows;' but by virtue of the present vârtika it means, 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows,' as. श्रियः, भ्रुवः ॥

वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद् वृद्धम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, यस्य, अचाम्, आदिः, तद्, वृद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचांमध्ये यस्य वृद्धिसंज्ञक आदिभूतस्तच्छब्दरूपं वृद्धसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *गोत्रान्ताद्समस्तवत्प्रत्ययो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * वा नामधेयस्य वृद्ध संज्ञा वक्तव्यः ॥ *

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * जिह्वाकात्यहरितकात्य वर्जम् ॥ *

73. That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vriddhi, is called vriddham.

This defines the word वृद्धम्. The sûtra consists of five words:— वृद्धिः 'the vṛiddhi vowel;' यस्य 'whose,' अचाम् 'among the vowels,' आदिः 'is first;' तद् 'that;' वृद्धम् 'is called vṛiddham.'

If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vṛiddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vṛiddham. Thus the words माला, शाला &c., have the first vowel आ a vṛiddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vṛiddham.

The word vṛiddham has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words certain taddhita affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114) by which the affix छ is added to vṛiddham. Thus माला + छ = मालीयः॥

Why do we say "*the first?*" Because a word like सभासंनयनः, which is not a vṛiddha word, will not admit of the affix छ. Its corresponding derivative will be साभासंनयनः ॥

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a vṛiddham. Thus देवदत्त + छ = देवदत्तीया, or we may have दैवदत्ता.

Vart:—A compound ending in a Gotra word, is regarded for the purposes of the addition of this affix, as if it was not compounded. Thus रौढि is a Gotra word and also vṛiddham. Its compound घृतरौढि will be regarded as a vṛiddham too, for the addition of the affix. As घृतरौढि + छ = घृतरौढीयाः 'the students of Ghṛitarauḍhi.' So also ओदनपाणिनीयाः, वृद्धाम्भीयाः वृद्धकाश्यपीयाः &c.

Vart:—Exception must be made in the case of जिह्वाकात्य and हरितकात्य। They do not take छ. Thus जैह्वाकाताः and हारितकाताः.

त्यदादीनि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि वृद्धसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

74. The words tyad &c., are also called vṛiddham.

The त्यद् &c. have been given in the list of sarvanâmas. See sûtra 27. These words are also called vṛiddham. Thus तद्+छ=तदीयम्, एतदीयम्, मदीयम् इदमीयम्, अदसीयम्, त्वादायनिः, मादायनिः &c.

एङ् प्राचां देशे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्, प्राचाम्, देशे, (यस्याचामादिः, वृद्धम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यस्याचामादिस्तत्प्राग्देशाभिधाने वृद्ध संज्ञं भवति ॥

75. A word that has the letters ए and ओ as the first among its vowels, gets also the designation of vṛiddham, when it is the name of Eastern countries.

As गोनर्द is a country of the east, it is a vṛiddham word and we have गोनर्द+छ=गोनर्दीयः; similarly एणीपचनीयम्, भोजकटीयः.

The word prâk in the sûtra has been differently interpreted. The Grammarian Kuṇin takes the word prâk as an epithet qualifying the word âchârya, 'professor' understood. In that case the sûtra will be thus translated:—'In the opinion of the Eastern (or ancient) professors, a word that has the letters *e* and *o* as the first among its vowels, and is the name of a country, is called vṛiddham.' Under this interpretation, this will be an optional rule only, giving the opinion of eastern or ancient grammarians.

Others however take the word prâk as qualifying the word deśa and the meaning then is as given in the text.

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and ओ'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called vṛiddham: and as such will not take the affix छ्; as आहिच्छत्र:, कान्यकुब्ज:.

Why do we say of 'Eastern country'? Because this rule does not apply to a word like देवदत्त: which is the name of a town in the Punjab, which is not an eastern country. Its secondary derivative will be दैवदत्त:, born in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'country'? The rule will not apply to rivers &c. Thus from गोमति we have गौमता: 'fish born in the river Gomati.'



ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

गाङ्कुटादिभ्योऽञ्णिन्ङित् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ्-कुट-आदिभ्यः, अञ्णित् ङित्, त् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङ्कुटादिभ्यः परेऽञ्णितः प्रत्यया ङितो भवन्ति, ङिद्वद्भवन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * व्यचेः कुटादित्वमनसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. All affixes after the verb gâṅ 'to study' and the verb kuṭ 'to be crooked,' and the rest, are as if they had an indicatory ङ् (ṅit), except those affixes which have an indicatory ञ् (ñit) or ण् (ṇit).

This is an atides'a sûtra, and makes certain affixes, though not having an indicatory ङ्, to produce the same effect as if they were really ङित्.

The root गाङ् is substituted for the verb इङ् in certain tenses, in which the verb इङ् is defective (II, 4. 49). The कुटादि verbs are roots belonging to the Tudâdi class of verbs, and they are forty roots beginning with कुट् 'to be crooked' and ending with कुङ् 'to groan.'

After these roots all affixes are treated as if they were marked with a ङ् with the exception of those affixes which are ञित् or णित्.

Thus from गाङ् we have in the aorist the form अध्यगीष्ट; which is thus evolved. अधि + अट् + इङ् + सिच् + त = अध्य + गा + स् + त (II. 4. 50.) = अध्य + गी + स्त (VI. 4. 66) = अध्यगीष्ट 'he studied,' अध्यगीषाताम् 'they two studied'; अध्यगीषत 'they studied.' Here by VI. 4. 66, the आ is changed into ई before the affix सिच्, which is regarded as ङित्.

Similarly, after the verbs कुट् &c., all affixes are treated as ङित्, with the exceptions already mentioned.

Thus कुट् + तृच् (III. 1. 133) = कुट् + इट् + तृच् (VII. 2. 35) = कुटितृ, nominative singular कुटिता 'who acts crookedly.' Here the affix तृच् being, regarded as ङित् does not cause the guṇa substitution of the उ of कुट्, by I. 1. 15.

Similarly with the affixes तुमुन् and तव्यम्, we have कुटितुम् and कुटितव्यम्. So on with all the forty roots of kuṭâdi class: e.g. उत्पुटिता, उत्पुटितुम्, उत्पुटितव्यम्.

But the affixes marked with ञ् or ण् will not be so treated. Thus णिच् by which causatives are formed, is such an affix; e.g. उत्कुट् + णिच् + शप् + तिप् = उत्कोट् + इ + अ + ति = उत्कोटयति. Here there is guṇa of the उ of कुट्. So also before the affix णल् of the perfect tense, we have उच्चुकोट, and before the affix ण्वुल् we have उत्कोटकः।

Vârtika:—The root व्यच् 'to deceive,' is also treated like kuṭâdi verbs, except before the affix असुन्. As विचिता 'he shall deceive,' विचितुम् 'for the purpose of deceiving' विचितव्यम् &c. Here there is samprâsaraṇa before the ṅit terminations ता, तुम् and तव्यम् and the य of व्यच् is changed into इ by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix असुन् is not ṅit and consequently there is no samprasâraṇa before it. Thus उरुव्यचाः 'an imp.'

विज इट् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि विजः, इट्, (ङित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओविजी भयचलनयोः अस्मात्पर इडादिः प्रत्ययो ङिद्भवति ॥

2. An affix that begins with the augment इट् (VII. 2. 35) is ṅit after the root *vij.*, 'to fear, to move.'

The root विज् does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate इ, because those terminations are treated like ङित् affixes. The root विज् belongs to the Tudâdi class. Thus उद्विजिता 'he will be agitated,' उद्विजितुम् 'for the purpose of being agitated,' उद्विजितव्यम् 'ought to be agitated.'

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment इट्, are not like ङित्, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as guṇation &c. As उत् + विज् + ल्युट् = उद्वेजनम्, उद्वेजनीयम् 'that which ought to be agitated.'

विभाषोर्णोः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऊर्णोः । (ङित्, इट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णुञ् आच्छादने अस्मात्पर इडादिः प्रत्ययो विभाषा ङिद्भवति ॥

3. After the verb ûrṇa 'to cover,' the affix beginning with the augment इट् is regarded optionally like ṅit.

Thus before the इडादि termination इता of the future, we may have either प्रोर्णुविता or प्रोर्णविता "he will cover."

The equation of the form is:— प्र + ऊर्णु + इ + ता = प्र + ऊर्णुव् + इता (VI. 4. 77) = प्रोर्णुविता. When the affix is not regarded as ङित्, it produces guṇa, and we have the second form प्रोर्णविता ॥

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment इट्, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form: as प्रोर्णु+ल्युट् = प्रोर्णो + अनम् = प्रोर्णवनम्, 'covering,' प्रोर्णवनीयम् 'which ought to be covered.'

सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुकम्, अप्-इत, (ङित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुकं यदपित्तन्ङिद्भवति ॥

4. A *Sârvadhâtuka* (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicatory प् is like ṅit.

The terminations which are added to roots are either *Sârvadhâtuka* or *ârdhadhâtuka.* The *Sârvadhâtuka* terminations are all those that are marked with a श् and also the tense terminations called तिङ्, the latter are the following:—

	sing.	*dual.*	*pl.*	
3rd Pers.	तिप्	तस्	झि	Parasmaipada.
2nd Pers.	सिप्	थस्	थ	
1st Pers.	मिप्	वस्	मस्	
3rd Pers.	त	आताम्	झ	Atmanepada.
2nd Pers.	थास्	आथाम्	ध्वम्	
1st Pers.	इट्	वहि	महिङ्	

Except the terminations marked with a प् such as ति, सि and मि, &c., all the other Sârvadhâtuka terminations are ङित्. The शित् terminations like शतृ, शानच्, &c., are also Sârvadhâtuka terminations. These affixes are also ङित्, unless they have a प् as indicatory, as शप्. Thus the affix तस्, being an अपित् Sârvadhâtuka affix, is a ङित्, and before it the vowel is not gunated e. g. कुरुतः 'they two do.' The equation is:—कृ+उ+तस् (the उ is added by Rule III. 1. 79) = कर्+उ+तस् (VI. 4. 110) = कुरु + तस् = कुरुतः ॥ Similarly कुर्वन्ति 'they do.'

Here the अ of कर् is changed into उ and we have कुर्, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the अ of the verb कर् is changed into उ before those Sârvadhâtuka affixes which are ङित् or कित्. Here तस् is a Sârvadhâtuka ङित् affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sûtras describe the ङित् terminations.

Why do we say 'a Sârvadhâtuka affix'? Because an ârdhadhâtuka affix, though not being marked with an indicatory प्' will not be a ङित्. As कर्त्ता 'doer,' कर्तुम् 'to do,' कर्तव्यम् 'duty.'

Why do we say 'not having an indicatory प्'? If a Sârvadhâtuka affix has an indicatory प् it will not be ṅit. As कृ+उ+तिप्=करोति 'he does' करोषि 'thou doest,' करोमि 'I do.'

असंयोगाल्लिट् कित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंयोगात्, लिट्, कित्, (अपित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंयोगान्ताद्धातोः परो लिट् प्रत्ययोऽपित् किद्भवति ॥

5. The affixes of Lit (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicatory क् (kit).

With this sûtra begins the description of affixes which are regarded as कित् though not actually having a क् to mark them as such. The terminations of लिट् (Perfect) not being पित् terminations, are कित्, after verbs that have no compound consonants. The phrase अपित् (not being marked with प्) qualifies this sûtra also, being drawn from the previous sûtra by the rule of Anuvṛitti.

Thus from भिद् 'to tear' the Reduplicated non-*pit* second person perfect is बिभिदतुः 'thou hast torn.' बिभिदुः 'They have torn.'

Similarly चिच्छिदतुः 'thou hast divided'; चिच्छिदुः 'you divided'; ईजतुः and ईजुः.

This rule will not apply if the root ends in a conjunct consonant. Thus स्रंस् 'to fall down' forms its second person Perfect:—सस्रंस्+अतुस्=सस्रंसतुः. Here the affix is not treated as *kit*; for had it been so treated, it would have caused the elision of the penultimate nasal (anusvâra) of स्रंस by Rule VI. 4. 24. Similarly from ध्वंस् we have दध्वंसे.

The *pit* terminations of the Perfect are not *kit*; and therefore we have बिभेद 'he has divided,' where the root is gunated before the 3rd person singular termination णल् which is a पित् termination, because it being the substitute of तिप् is regarded like तिप् by I 1. 56.

इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्धि-भवतिभ्याम्, च, (लिट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्धिभवतीत्येताभ्यां परो लिट् प्रत्ययः किद्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * श्रन्थिग्रन्थिदम्भिस्वञ्जीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

6. The Lit or Perfect Tense affixes after the roots *indhi* 'to kindle,' and *bhu* 'to become,' also are *kit*.

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित्. These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root इन्धि ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by sûtra 5; and the root भू is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित् after भू, not excepting the पित् terminations. Thus the verbs समीधे and ईधे are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root इन्ध् as in the following examples:—समीधे दस्युहन्तमम्, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and पुत्र ईधे अथर्वणः, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित् ॥ Similarly from the root भू, we have बभूव, बभूविथ ॥

Vart.:—This rule should be applied also to the verbs श्रंथ् 'to loosen,' ग्रंथ् 'to fasten,' दंभ् 'to injure' and स्वंज् 'to embrace.' As श्रेथतुः 'thou hast

loosened,' श्रंथ+अतुस् = श्रथ्+अतुस्. (The न् is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last sûtra, *viz.* VI. 4. 24).

= श्रथ्+श्रथ्+अतुस् = श्रेथतुः (VI. 4. 120). Similarly ग्रेथतुः ; देभतुः, परिषस्वजे, परिषस्वजाते.

मृडमृदगुधकुषक्लिशवदवसः क्त्वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृड-मृद-गुध कुष-क्लिश-वद-वसः , क्त्वा (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मृड मृद गुध कुष क्लिश वद वस् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वाप्रत्ययः किद्भवति ॥

7. The affix *ktvâ* is *kit* after mṛid 'to be gracious,' mṛid 'to squeeze,' gudh 'to wrap up,' kush 'to tear,' kliś 'to suffer,' vad 'to speak' and vas 'to dwell.'

After these seven verbs, the gerundial *ktvâ* is *kit.* It might be said, what was the necessity of this sûtra? The affix *ktvâ* is clearly a *kit* affix, as it is marked with the diacritical letter क्, and it was useless to call it a *kit* affix after these verbs. The reason of this apparent repitition is this. Though *ktvâ* is a *kit* affix generally; yet there is a later sûtra in this chapter (I. 2. 18) which declares that the prefix क्त्वा is not कित्, if it is preceded by the intermediate इ. Or in other words, if क्त्वा is added to those verbs, which are called सेट् verbs, viz., that take an intermediate इ, it is not then *kit.* Thus the verb शी 'to sleep' is सेट्. Therefore शी+इ+त्वा = शे+इ+त्वा = शयित्वा.

Now it happens that all the seven verbs mentioned in the sûtra are सेट् verbs, and take an intermediate इ. The क्त्वा before these verbs would have lost its *kit*ness by virtue of sûtra 18; therefore arose the necessity of this sûtra, to provide in anticipation an exception to that sûtra, in favour of these verbs, where the affix *ktvâ* is *necessarily kit.* Thus we have मृडित्वा 'being gracious,' मृदित्वा 'having squeezed,' गुधित्वा 'having wrapped' कुषित्वा 'having torn,' क्लिशित्वा 'having suffered,' उदित्वा 'having spoken,' उषित्वा 'having dwelt.' The व *v* of वद् and वस् are changed into उ by the rule of Samprasâraṇa (VI. 1. 15).

Moreover in the case of the verbs गुध्, कुष् and क्लिश्, sûtra 26 would have made क्त्वा *optionally kit*; the present sûtra makes it *necessarily* so.

रुदविदमुषग्रहिस्वपिप्रच्छः संश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद-विद-मुष-ग्रहि-स्वपि-प्रच्छ-संश्च, (क्त्वा कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुद विद मुष ग्रहि स्वपि प्रच्छ इत्येतेभ्यः संश्च क्त्वा च कितौ भवतः॥

8. The affixes *ktvâ* and *san* (III. 1. 7) are *kit,* after *rud* 'to weep,' *vid* 'to know,' *mush* 'to steal,' *grah* 'to seize,' *svap* 'to sleep,' and *prachchh* 'to ask.'

After the above mentioned verbs the *ktvâ* though taking an intermediate इ, and the affix सन् are कित्. The affix सन् is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The न् of सन् is इत्, the real affix being स. The root is reduplicated before this सन् affix. Thus रुदित्वा 'having cried,' रुरुदिषति 'he wishes to cry'; विदित्वा 'having known,' विविदिषति 'he wishes to know'; गृहीत्वा (VI. 1. 16.) 'having taken,' जिघृक्षति 'he wishes to take'; मुषित्वा 'having stolen,' मुमुषिषति 'he wishes to steal'; सुप्त्वा (VI. 1. 15) 'having slept,' सुषुप्सति 'he wishes to sleep,' पृष्ट्वा (VI. 1. 16) 'having asked' पिपृच्छिषति 'he wishes to ask.' The verb ग्रह् is changed into गृह्, स्वप् into सुप्, प्रच्छ् into पृच्छ before *kit* affixes by samprasâraṇa (VI. 1. 16.)

The *ktvâ* and *san* would have been *optionally kit* after the verbs रुद्, विद् and मुष् by virtue of Rule 26 of this chapter, but this sûtra makes them *necessarily* so, after these three verbs. In the case of the verb ग्रह्, these affixes are *kit* by virtue of this sûtra only. In the case of the verbs स्वप् and प्रच्छ् the affix क्त्वा is of course *kit*, because these two verbs are aniṭ, that is, they do not take the intermediate इ; and therefore the क्त्वा being directly affixed to them, and rule 18 not applying, the indicatory *k* would make it *kit*. In reference to these verbs, therefore, the present sûtra teaches something new, only with regard to the affix सन्, by making that also *kit*. The verb प्रच्छ् takes the intermediate इ when the affix सन् follows, by virtue of sûtra VII. 2. 75.

इको झल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, झल् (सन्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्ताद्धातोः परो झलादिः सन् किद्भवति ॥

9. The affix *san* beginning with a letter of the *Pratyâhâra jhal* is like *kit*, after verbs ending in *ik* vowels.

In this sûtra there is the *anuvṛitti* of सन् only and not of क्त्वा. The sûtra literally translated means :—"After *ik* the *jhal*." The *Pratyâhâra* इक् contains the four letters इ, उ, ऋ, ऌ. The Pratyâhâra झल् contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in इक् the desiderative suffix सन् is *kit*, when it is झलादि, that is to say when the affix सन् does not take the intermediate इ. The affix सन् is an affix which begins with स् a letter of the झल् class. But if the intermediate इ is added before it, it is no longer a झलादि affix, and in that case it is not कित्. Thus from जि 'to conquer,' which is a verb ending in इक्, we have जिगीषति 'he wishes to conquer', यु 'to mix' युयूषति ; so also कृ 'to do,' चिकीर्षति, तॄ 'to cross' तितीर्षति, भू 'to be' बुभूषति.

If however, verbs ending in इ or उ or ऋ or ऌ, take an intermediate इ, they likewise take guṇa. As :—स्मि 'to smile' takes guṇa, and makes its desiderative सिस्मयिषति.

The झलादि सन् is not *kit* after verbs ending in any other letter than the इक्. As पिपासति (from पा) 'he wishes to drink.' So from स्था we have तिष्ठासति.

The object of making the affix सन् *kit* affix after verbs ending in *ik* vowels, is to prevent the guṇa of the vowel of the root, as in चिचीषति 'wishes to collect', तुष्टूषति 'wishes to praise.' To this it might be objected "this cannot be: for rule VI. 4. 16 (when सन् beginning with a *jhal*, *i.e.*, not preceded by the augment इट् follows, a long vowel is the substitute of verbs ending in a vowel, and of the verbs हन् and गम्) would prevent guṇa by substituting long vowel." To this it may be replied: "if rule VI. 4. 16, enjoining long vowel, debars rule VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa, it should *a fortiori* debar rule VI. 4. 51 which requires the elision of the affix णि before Ardhadhâtuka affixes not taking the augment इट्. But evidently that is not so; for the elision of णि is not debarred by VI. 4. 16. Therefore, the present sûtra is made, so that even by giving scope to the rule of lengthening, the affix सन् be treated as कित्." Thus in चिचीषति scope is given to rule VI. 4. 16, and the vowel is lengthened. But this rule in its turn will be debarred in those cases where rule VI. 4. 51 will apply: in such cases the maxim contained in I. 4. 2 is our guide, and a subsequent rule will debar a prior rule of Pâṇini when both find their scope in a single case. Thus in forming the desiderative of the verb ज्ञप् 'to inform,' both the rules VI. 4. 16 and VI. 4. 51 present themselves, but the latter prevails. The verb ज्ञप् belongs to the churâdi class of verbs, and takes the affix णिच्. Thus ज्ञप् + णिच् + सन् + तिप्; here the present sûtra comes into force, and सन् being treated as कित्, the guṇa of the इ of ज्ञपि is prevented. Thus sûtra VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa being set aside, sûtra VI. 4. 51 comes into play, and causes the elision of णिच् and we have ज्ञप्+स+ति=ज्ञीप्सति (VII. 4. 55 आ changed to ई) 'he wishes to inform.'

हलन्ताच्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्तात्, च, (इक्, सन्, झल्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तादिक्समीपाद्धलः परः सन् झलादिः किद्भवति ॥

10. And after a root ending in a consonant, and preceded by a vowel of the *pratyâhara ik*, the affix *san* beginning with a *jhal* consonant, is like *kit*.

Thus from भिद् 'to pierce' we have बिभित्सति 'he wishes to break,' here the root भिद् contains the *ik* vowel इ; it ends in a consonant द्; the affix सन् is directly added without taking an intermediate इ, and therefore it fulfils all the conditions of the sûtra; and the vowel is not guṇated.

If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the *ik* class, the affix सन् is not *kit* after such a verb. As यज्+सन्+ते =यियक्षते 'wishes to sacrifice.' Had the affix सन् been here a *kit* affix, there would have been samprasâraṇa by rule VI. 1. 16 which declares that there is samprasâraṇa of the verbs वच्, स्वप्, and यज् &c., before *kit* affixes.

If the *san* takes the intermediate इ and is then no longer a झलादि सन् it is not *kit*; and causes guṇation *etcetera*. As वृत् + इ + सन्=विवर्तिषते 'he desires to be.' Here there is guṇa of *ri*.

Roots like दम्भ्, तृंह् &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word हल् of the sûtra means *jâti* or class; thus दम्भ्+सन्+तिप्=दभ्+सति (VI. 4. 24, the *m* being elided by treating सन् as कित्)=धीप्सति or धिप्सति (VII. 4. 56).

लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-सिचौ, आत्मनेपदेषु (हलन्तात् इक झल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तादिक्समीपाद्धलः परौ झलादी लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु परतः कितौ भवतः ॥

11. After roots ending in a consonant, that adjoins a vowel of *ik* pratyâhâra, the substitutes of liṅ (III. 3. 161) and *sich* (III. 1. 44) when they begin with a consonant of jhal pratyâhâra, are *kit*, when the âtmanepada affixes follow.

The sûtra consists of two words लिङ्सिचौ and आत्मनेपदेषु, literally meaning "the affixes *lin* and *sich* in the Atmanepada." The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous sûtras, to complete the sense. The *anuvritti* of the word सन्, that began with sûtra 8, does not extend further. As:—भित्सीष्ट 'may he break' and भुत्सीष्ट 'may he know,' अभित्त 'he broke', अबुद्ध 'he knew.'

Thus the root भिद् ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by इ a letter of *ik* pratyâhâra; after this root the jhalâdi affix सीष्ट of Benedictive in the Atmanepada is treated like कित्; therefore there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. भिद्+सीष्ट=भित्सीष्ट. Similarly in the Aorist we have अभित्त=अ+भिद्+सिच्+त, the स of the Aorist being elided by VIII. 2. 26. So also बुध्+सीष्ट=भुत्+सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 37)=भुत्सीष्ट.

If the final consonant is not preceded by an *ik* vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. यज् + सीष्ट = यष् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 36) = यक् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 41) = यक्षीष्ट (VIII. 3. 58). Similarly its Aorist is अयष्ट. Had the affixes सीष्ट and त been *kit*, they would have caused samprasâraṇa of य by VI. 1. 16.

This rule will not apply, if the Benedictive and Aorist affixes are Parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of सृज् 'to let off,' is अ + सृज् + सीत् = अ + सृ + अ + ज् + सीत् (VI. 1. 58) = अस्रज् + सीत् (VI. 1. 77) = अस्राक्षीत् (VII. 2. 1). Similarly from दृश् we have Aorist Parasmaipadi अद्राक्षीत्. Had the Aorist been कित्, rule VI. 1. 58 (अम् is the augment of the verbs सृज् and दृश् when an affix beginning with a *jhal* and not having an indicatory क् follows), would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb चि, we have Ben. चेषीष्ट, Aor. अचेष्ट. Had the affixes been कित्, there would have been no guṇa substitution of *i* into *e*.

The rule will not apply, if these affixes are not *jhalâdi*, but take the augment इट्. Thus Ben. वृत्+इषीष्ट=वर्तिषीष्ट, so also Aorist अवर्तिष्ट. Had they been कित्, there would have been no guṇa substitution.

This rule, of course, is confined to the Benedictive and the Aorist. Other tenses will not be affected by this rule. Thus the 1st and 2nd Future of द्विष् is द्वेष्टा and द्वेक्ष्यति.

उश्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, च, (लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु झल कित्)

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्ताद्धातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु झलादी कितौ भवतः ॥

12. And after verbs ending in ऋ, the substitutes of liṅ and the affix *sich*, are *kit*, when they begin with *jhal*, and the Atmanepada affixes follow.

As from कृ 'to do' the benedictive is कृषीष्ट 'may he do.' So also सिच्, as अकृत 'he did.' So also हृषीष्ट and अहृत.

Of course this rule would not apply if these terminations take the intermediate इ; as वृ + इषीष्ट = वरिषीष्ट 'may he choose,' (Benedictive); अ+वृ+इष्ट=अवरिष्ट or अवरीष्ट 'he chose or covered,' the इ being lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

वा गमः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, गमः, (लिङ्सिचौ, आत्मनेपदेषु झल कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु झलादी वा कितौ भवतः ॥

13. Optionally after the verb *gam*, the liṅ and *sich* beginning with *jhal* consonants, in the Atmanepada, are *kit*.

The verb गम् 'to go' is Atmanepadi after the preposition सम् by Rule I. 3. 29.

The result of its being *kit* is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with सिच्, and the Benedictive. Thus we have

the forms :—संगंसीष्ट or संगसीष्ट in the Benedictive; and समगत or समगंस्त in the *sich* Aorist. These forms are thus evolved:—

सम् + गम् + सीष्ट = सम् + ग + सीष्ट (VI. 4. 37) = संगसीष्ट 'may he combine.' Here the nasal म् of गम् is elided by treating the affix सीष्ट as कित् by Rule VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have संगंसीष्ट.

So in the aorist सम्+गम्+सिच्+त=सम्+अट्+गम्+त (VI. 4. 37)=समगत. The सिच् being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inflective base, there is elision of सिच्, if a *jhal* follows). So when म् of गम् is elided by VI. 4. 37, there remains only ग which is a base ending in short अ, hence, the elision of सिच्. But in the alternative we have समगंस्त.

हनः सिच् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, सिच् । (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः परः सिच् किद्भवति ॥

14. The *sich* Atmanepada affixes are *kit* after the root *han* 'to kill.'

As आहत, आहसाताम्, आहसत are the aorist of हन्. When a सिच् or second aorist is *kit* the verb loses its nasal, by Rule VI, 4. 37. After the verb हन् the सिच् is only *kit* and not the Benedictive लिङ् terminations, as was the case in the previous sûtra; hence the repetition of the word *sich* in this sûtra. The sûtras 12 and 13 were governed both by लिङ् and सिच्; from and after this sûtra, the governing power of लिङ् ceases. The governing power of the word "Atmanepada" in sûtra 11 does not however cease, and its anuvṛitti runs through the succeeding sûtras; though as regards this sûtra, its anuvṛitti is redundant, inasmuch as before the Parasmaipada terminations, the root हन् is always replaced by वध् in the aorist, there is no necessity of making the affix *sich* a *kit*. For the object served in making *sich*, *kit*, after the verb हन्, is to elide the nasal, while in the case of वध्, no such purpose can be served.

यमो गन्धने ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, गन्धने, (सिच् आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमेर्धातोर्गन्धने वर्त्तमानात्परः सिच् प्रत्ययः कित् भवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

15. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after the verb *yam*, when meaning 'to divulge.'

The word *gandhana* means 'to divulge,' 'to make known that which had been concealed.' The verb यम् has various meanings.

The result of *kit* is that the nasal is elided. The verb यम् becomes Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition आङ् by rule I. 3. 28. Thus उत् + आ + यम् + त=उदायत='he divulged,' उदायसाताम्, उदायसत, the *sich* is elided by VIII. 2. 27 and म् by VI. 4. 37. When the verb यम् has any other meaning than 'to divulge,' then the सिच् in the Atmanepada is not *kit*; as उदायंस्त पादम् 'he raised the foot.' So also उदायंस्त कूपादुदकम् 'he raised water from the

well.' Though here the verb *yam* is in the transitive form and takes an object after it, yet it is Atmanepadi by Rule I. 3. 75 which declares "after the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by सम्, उत् and आङ् when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed."

विभाषोपयमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपयमने, (यमः सिच् आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमेर्धातोरुपयमने वर्त्तमानात् परः सिच् प्रत्ययो विभाषा किद्भवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

16. The *sich* before âtmanepada affixes is *kit* optionally, when *yam* means 'to espouse.'

Thus उपायत कन्याम् or उपायंस्त कन्याम् 'he espoused the girl,' उपायत or उपायंस्त भार्याम् 'he espoused his wife.'

The word 'Upayamana' in the sûtra means 'to accept in marriage,' 'to espouse.' The verb यम् preceded by the preposition उप is Atmanepadi when it means 'to espouse' by Rule 1. 3. 56.

स्थाघ्वोरिच्च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था, घ्वोः, इत्, च (सिजात्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेर्धातोः घुसंज्ञकानाञ्च इकारश्चान्तादेशः सिच किद्भवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

17. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after *sthâ* "to stand" and *ghu* (I. 1. 20) verbs, and these verbs change their आ into इ before these terminations.

The roots स्था 'to stand,' दा 'to give,' धा 'to place', दे 'to pity', धे 'to feed', दो 'to cut' change their vowels into इ before the terminations of the Aorist of the Atmanepada; and those terminations are also *kit*. As उपास्थित, 'he worshipped', उपास्थिषाताम्, उपास्थिषत; अदित 'he gave', अधित 'he fed.'

न क्त्वा सेट् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्त्वा, सेट, (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययः सेण्न किद्भवति ॥

18. The affix *ktvâ* when it takes the augment इट् (*i. e.* when it is sét) is not *kit*.

We had had occasion to refer to this sûtra in explaining sûtra 7. The affix *ktvâ* (the actual affix being *tvâ*, the *k* being merely *it* or indicatory letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sûtra however limits its kitness to cases where it is not *sét*. If it is *sét*, *i.e.* has before it the intermediate इ it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in कृत्वा, हुत्वा, the affix त्वा is added directly to the root कृ 'to do' and हु 'to sacrifice,' without an intermediate इ and therefore the root has not been gunated, the affix here being *kit*. But in

स्वेदित्वा, देवित्वा, वर्त्तित्वा, from स्विद्, दिव् and वृत् 'to sweat,' 'to shine,' 'to be,' the affix is not *kit*, because there is an intermediate इ before त्वा and the root has been consequently gunated.

Of course this sûtra relates to क्त्वा *ktvâ* only. Other affixes though having an intermediate इ will be treated as *kit*, if they have an indicatory क्. Thus the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 94) by which feminine nouns are formed from roots is a कित् affix. This affix when सेट्, will remain कित्, as नि+ग्रह्+इट्+क्तिन्=नि+गृह्+इ+ ति (VI. 1. 16)=निगृहीतिः (VII 2. 37). Here there is samprasâraṇa by treating *ktin* as *kit*. So also in उपस्निहितिः and निकुचितिः there is no guṇa. After ग्रह् &c., the affix क्तिन् takes the augment इट् by a Vârtika under sûtra VII. 2, 9 which see.

निष्ठा शीङ्स्विदिमिदिक्ष्विदिधृषः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, शीङ्-स्विदि-मिदि-क्ष्विदि-धृषः (न, सेट्, कित्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङ् स्विदि मिदि क्ष्विदि धृष् इत्येतेभ्यः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः सेण् न किद्भवति ॥

19. The sét Nishthâ affixes are not *kit* after the verbs *s'î* 'to lie down,' *svid* 'to sweat,' *mid* 'to melt,' *kshvid* 'to be unctuous,' and *dhṛish* 'to offend.'

The Nishṭhâs are *kta* and *ktavatu* (see sûtra 26, Chapter I). They are obviously *kit* affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not *kit*, and the vowels take guṇa. Thus शयितः slept, शयितवान्, प्रस्वेदितः, प्रमेदितः, प्रक्ष्वेदितः ; प्रस्वेदितवान्, प्रमेदितवान्, प्रक्ष्वेदितवान्, प्रधर्षितः, प्रधर्षितवान् &c. In all the above roots the *Nishṭha* affixes are also *séṭ*.

The roots स्विद् (ञिष्विदा), मिद् (ञिमिदा), क्ष्विद् (ञिक्ष्विदा) and धृष् (ञिधृषा) have all long आ as indicatory, as well as the syllable ञि. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2. 16 are generally *aniṭ*, and consequently beyond the scope of the *operation* of the present sûtra. As स्विन्नः, स्विन्नवान्. But when the Nishṭhâ affixes denote 'a state or condition, bhâva,' or 'beginning of action,' then the above four roots optionally become *seṭ*. (VII. 2. 17). It is in that case that the present sûtra is applicable to them.

मृषस्तितिक्षायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ मृषः, तितिक्षायाम् (निष्ठा सेट् न कित्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ मृषेर्धातोः तितिक्षायामर्थे निष्ठासेण् न किद्भवति ॥

20. The séṭ Nishṭhâ is not *kit* after the verb mṛish when meaning 'to forbear.'

Thus मर्षितः 'forborne', मर्षितवान् 'forbore.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to forbear?' When it has not this sense, the séṭ nishṭhâ will be कित्. As अपमृषितं वाक्यमाह 'he spoke unintelligible language.'

उदुपधाद्भावादिकर्मणोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-उपधात्, भाव-आदि-कर्मणः, अन्यतरस्याम् (निष्ठा सेण् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदुपधाद्धातोः परो भावे आदिकर्मणि च वर्त्तमानो निष्ठाप्रत्ययः सेडन्यतरस्यां न किद्भवति ॥

21. The sét Nishthâ is optionally not *kit*, after the verbs with a penultimate उ if used impersonally or denoting the beginning of action.

According to some the *sét Nishthâ* suffixes are not *kit* after the verbs having a penultimate उ if those verbs are used impersonally (bhâva) or denote the beginning of action (âdi-karman). Thus द्युत 'to shine', द्युतितमनेन or द्योतितमनेन 'it has been lighted.' Similarly प्रद्योतितः or प्रद्युतितः 'he first illumined.' The word penultimate or *upadhâ* has been defined in sûtra 65 ante.

If the vorb has any other vowel than उ as penultimate, then the rule does not apply. As लिखितमनेन 'written by him.' Here इ is penultimate; and therefore no option is allowed.

This rule has no application where the Nishthâ does not express either भाव 'condition' or 'Impersonal action'; or आदिकर्म 'beginning of action', but is used as a verbal adjective. As रुचितं कार्षापणं ददाति 'he gives a shining coin (called kârshâpana).' Here the word रुचित 'shining' is used as adjective.

The rule applies to the Nishthâ which takes the intermediate इ and not to others as प्रभुक्त ओदनः 'the rice that has been eaten.' Here no option is allowed.

This optional form of past participle is restricted in its scope. Those verbs which take the vikarana शप् *i.e.*, the verbs of the *Bhu* class &c., admit of this option. Thus गुध् 'to wrap up' belongs to Divâdi class, and therefore, its participle has one form only as गुधितं.

पूङः क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङः, क्त्वा , च (सेट्, कित् , न निष्ठा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः क्त्वा च सेण्न किद्भवति ॥

22. The sét Nishthâ and the sét *ktvâ* are not *kit* after the verb pûṅ 'to purify.'

The word 'optionally' of the previous sûtra 21 does not govern this sûtra, because the word 'optionally' has been again used in the next sûtra 23; of which there would have been no necessity had the word 'optionally' governing force in this sûtra, for then this would have also governed the next sûtra. The *anuvriti* of न सेट however is to be read in this sûtra.

By rule VII. 2. 51, after the verb पू the affixes Nishṭhâ and क्त्वा *ktvâ* take the intermediate इ. So that क्त्वा *ktvâ* being *séṭ* (by virtue of Rule VII. 2. 51) would have been non-kit by Rule 18; and it might be asked what is the necessity of repeating it in this sûtra, when sûtra 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning क्त्वा *ktvâ* in this sûtra, it has governing force over the succeeding sûtras. As पवितः, पवितवान्.

नोपधात् थफान्ताद्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उपधात्-थ-फ-अन्तात्-वा (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारोपधाद्धातोस्थकारान्तात्फकारान्ताच्च परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेड् वा न किद्भवति ॥

23. The séṭ *ktvâ* is optionally *kit*, after the verbs having a penultimate न् and ending in थ् and फ्.

The *séṭ ktvâ* may or may not be *kit* after the verbs ending in थ् or फ् preceded by a nasal. The result of being *kit* will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from ग्रंथ् we have ग्रथित्वा or ग्रन्थित्वा 'having twisted,' गुफित्वा or गुंफित्वा 'having tied round', श्रथित्वा or श्रन्थित्वा.

The word "Nishṭhâ" does not govern this sûtra, and comes to an end with the last sûtra.

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate न् though they may end in थ् or फ्. As रेफित्वा 'having reviled', गोफित्वा 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the त्वा *tvâ* being non-kit, the vowels of the root रिफ् and गुफ् have been guṇated.

A verb may have a penultimate न्, but if it has not final थ or फ, the rule does not apply. As स्रंस् + इत्वा = स्रंसित्वा 'having dropped', ध्वंसित्वा 'having killed." Had it been *kit*, the nasal would have been dropped.

वञ्चिलुञ्च्यृतश्च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वञ्चि-लुञ्चि-ऋतः, च, (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चि लुञ्चि ऋत् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेड्वा न किद्भवति ॥

24. The séṭ *ktvâ* is optionally *kit*, after the verbs *vañch* 'to cheat' *luñch* 'to pluck' and ṛit 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the *ktvâ* affix being *séṭ*, may or may not be *kit*. As वचित्वा or वंचित्वा 'having cheated.' So also लुचित्वा or लुंचित्वा 'having plucked', ऋतित्वा or अर्तित्वा 'having dared.'

When the verb ऋत् *ṛit* takes the affix ईयङ् it is not governed by this sûtra. See sûtra III. 1. 29.

When the *ktvâ* is not *seṭ*, but *aniṭ*, then there is no option allowed. As वच् + क्त्वा = वक्त्वा.

तृषिमृषिकृशेः काश्यपस्य ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृषि-मृषि-कृशेः, काश्यपस्य, (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृषि मृषि कृषि इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् काश्यपस्याचार्यस्य मते वा न किद्भवति ॥

25. The sét *ktvâ* is optionally *kit*, according to the opinion of Rishi Kâs'yapa, after the verbs tṛish 'to be thirsty,' mṛish 'to sprinkle,' and kṛis' 'to become lean.'

As तृषित्वा or तर्षित्वा 'having thirsted,' मृषित्वा or मर्षित्वा 'having sprinkled,' कृशित्वा or कर्शित्वा 'having become lean.' By sûtra 18, the *seṭ ktvâ* is never *kit*. This sûtra adds another exception to that general rule.

The special mention of Kâsyapa is for the sake of showing respect. The वा is already understood in this sûtra by Anuvṛitti from sûtra 23.

रलो व्युपधाद्धलादेः संश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रलः, उ-इ-उपधाद्, हल्-आदेः, सन्, च (वासेट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारोपधादिकारोपधाच्चधातो रलन्ताद्धलादेः परः संश्च क्त्वाच सेटौ वा कितौ भवतः ॥

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of *Ral pratyâhâra*, and has as its penultimate इ or ई, उ or ऊ, the *ktvâ* and *san* affixes are optionally *kit*.

The wording of this sûtra requires a little explanation. It consists of the following words :—

1. रलः ralaḥ, ablative of रल् (after the consonants included in the *Pratâyâhara ral* i.e., all the consonants except य् *y* and व् *v*) :—Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except य् *y* and व् *v*.

2. व्युपधात् means "after penultimate वी." It is a compound of वी + उपधा. The वी itself is a compound of उ + इ = वि, in the dual वी. Therefore the phrase means "after (verbs) having for their penultimate either इ *i* or उ *u* long or short."

3. हलादेः means "beginning with a consonant."

All these three words qualify the word "verb" understood.

4. संश्च means "and san,"

The sûtra means, those verbs which have a रल् letter in the end, a हल् in the beginning, and an इ, ई or उ, ऊ in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes *ktvâ* and *san* as कित्.

Thus द्युत् 'to shine,' makes द्युतित्वा or द्योतित्वा 'having shone,' लिख् 'to write' makes लिखित्वा or लेखित्वा.

Similarly in *san* affix we have लिलिखिषति or लिलेखिषति 'he wishes to write', दिद्युतिषते or दिद्योतिषते 'he wishes to shine.'

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than रल्. As दिव् + क्त्वा = देवित्वा; its desiderative will be दिदेविषति. No option is allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not इ or उ. As वृत् + क्त्वा = वर्तित्वा. Des. विवर्तिषते.

The rule also does not apply if the verb does not begin with a consonant. As एषित्वा and एषिषिषति. There is no option allowed here.

The rule does not apply if the क्त्वा and सन् are *anit*. As भुक्त्वा, बुभुक्षते.

In these 26 sûtras the description of affixes which are treated like ङित् and कित् is comprised.

ऊकालोऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊ-कालः अच्, ह्रस्व-दीर्घ-प्लुतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उ ऊ ऊ३ इत्येवं कालोऽज् यथाक्रमं ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुत इत्येवं संज्ञो भवति ॥

27. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *û* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dîrgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

The उ *u* having one mâtrâ or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is pluta. This sûtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their *mâtrâ*. The letter ऊ *û* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुत: is a Dvandva compound, in the Singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the gener al rule II. 4. 17.

The word *kâla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As दधि 'curd', मधु 'honey'. Here इ and उ are short. कुमारी, गौरी, here ई is long. देवदत्ता३ अत्रासि Devadatta! Here आ *a* is pluta or prolated.

These words are used in the following sûtras: I, 2. 47; VII. 4. 25; VIII. 2. 82.

अचश्च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः च, (ह्रस्व दीर्घ प्लुतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्व दीर्घ प्लुताः स्वसंज्ञायाशिष्यमाणा अच एवस्थाने वेदितव्याः ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

This is a paribhâshâ sûtra, and declares the object to which the terms 'short,' 'long' and 'prolated' are to be applied. When in this book "short'

'long' or 'prolated' are taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dîrgha* or *pluta*, they must be understood to apply to vowels. As will be found in the sûtra I. 2. 47.[1] "there is the substitution of *hrasva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'vowel' must be inserted in this sûtra to complete the sense. That is:—the hrasva is substituted for the final *vowel* of the crude-form. As रै अतिरि, नौ अतिनु, गा उपगु.

The substitution must take the place of vowel and not consonant. As सुवाग् ब्राह्मणकुलम्.

Similarly sûtra VII. 4. 25[2] teaches "There is the substitution of *dîrgha* or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter य्, except *krit* and Sârvadhâtuka affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the sûtra which will then be "*of an inflective base ending in a vowel*, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As चि+यङ्+त=चीयते 'it is collected'; श्रु+य+त=श्रूयते 'it is heard.' Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must take place in the room of a vowel and not of a consonant. As भिद् + य + ते = भिद्यते 'it is divided,' छिद्यते it is pierced.'

So also in the case of *pluta* substitution. Thus rules VIII. 2. 82 and 84,[3] declare that in calling from a distance, *pluta* is substituted for the टि portion of the word in the vocative. (The word टि is defined in I. 1. 64). Here also the phrase 'of the vowel' must be read into the sûtra to complete the sense. The sûtra will then read:—"*Pluta* is substituted in the place of the vowel of the टि &c." Thus देवदत्त३, O Devadatta! यज्ञदत्त३ O Yajñadatta!

Wy do we say "in the place of *vowels* only"? The substitution must be in the place of the vowel of the टि and not of the consonant. As अग्निचि३त्, सोमसु३त्. Here the syllables इत् and उत् are टि, and the vowels इ and उ have been prolated and not the consonant त्.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, hrasva, dîrgha, and pluta. Therefore it is not so here; द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः, द्युभ्याम्, द्युभिः See I. 1. 4,

उच्चैरुदात्तः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैः, उदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चैरुपलभ्यमानो योऽच् स उदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

29. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udâtta* or acutely accented.

With this sûtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called udâtta or *acute* accent. As अग्निः agniḥ, here *i* has the acute accent. The udâtta is not marked

(1) ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ (2) अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घः ॥ (3) वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ दूराद्धूते च ॥

in writing. The word 'vowel' of the previous sûtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and secular literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udâtta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate, &c., if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udâtta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent. The word is used in sûtra III. 1. 3.[1] "The first vowel of an affix has the udâtta accent." As कृ + तव्यम् = कर्तव्यम् kartâvyam.

नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नीचैः, अनुदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नीचैरुपलभ्यमानो योऽच् सोऽनुदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

30. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudâtta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sûtra. As अग्निः agníḥ, here अ has the grave accent. The vowel accent known as grave or anudâtta is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the anudâtta is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

This word is used in sûtra III. 1. 4.[2] "the case terminations called सुप् and those affixes that have an indicatory प् are anudâtta" &c. As तयः, बोधामि,

In pronouncing an anudâtta vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone: while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

समाहारः स्वरितः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समाहारः, स्वरितः (अचः, उदात्तः, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरसमाहारो योऽच् स स्वरितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

31. The vowel that has the combination of *Udâtta* and *Anudâtta* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood here also. The svarita or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter,

The word is used in sûtra VI. 1. 185.[3] "The affixes having an indicatory त् *t* have svarita accent." As कन्या kanyâ, शिक्यम् s'ikyàm, क्व *kvà*.

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(1) आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ (2) अनुदात्तौ सुप्पितौ ॥ (3) तित्स्वरितम् ॥

This sûtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udâtta vowel with an anudâtta vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

तस्यादित उदात्तमर्द्धह्रस्वम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, आदितः, उदात्तम्, अर्द्ध-ह्रस्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य स्वरितस्य आदावर्द्धह्रस्वमुदात्तम् भवति ॥

32. Of it (svarita) the first portion is *udâtta*, to the extent of a half measure, of prosodial length.

It has been defined that svarita accent is a combination of udâtta and anudâtta. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sûtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in svarita, the first half is accute and the other grave.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svarita*, its mâtrâ being one, half will be *udâtta* and the other half *anudâtta*. If a long vowel, whose mâtrâs are two, be *svarita* then ½ will be *udâtta*, 1½ will be *anudâtta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svarita*, then first half measure will be *udâtta*, and the remaining 2½ measures will be *anudâtta*. In short, the udâtta portion of a *svarita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in शिक्यम् s'ikyam, the *a* is *svarita*, half being acute, the other half grave or monotony; in कन्या *kanyâ*, the long *â* is *svarita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining 1½ is grave; in मानवका३ mânavakâ, here *a* prolated is svarita, its first ½ is acute, the balance 2½ measure is grave.

एकश्रुतिदूरात्सम्बुद्धौ ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकश्रुति, दूरात्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकश्रुति वाक्यं भवति दूरात्सम्बुद्धौ सति ॥

33. In addressing a person from a distance, the tone is called Ekas'ruti or monotony.

Monotony or Ekas'ruti is that tone which is perceived when a person is addressed; in it there is an absence of all the three tones mentioned above; and there is no definite pitch in it. It is, therefore, the ordinary recitative tone.

The word 'Sambuddhi' means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता३ 'O boy Devadatta! come.' There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of Devadatta is changed into *pluta* by the rule already referred to in s. 28 ante VIII. 2. 84 दूराद्धूते च) ॥

If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त 'come, O boy Devadatta.'

यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूङ्खसामसु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञ-कर्मणि, अजप-न्यूङ्ख-सामसु, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जपन्यूङ्खसामानि वर्जयित्वा यज्ञकर्मणि मन्त्राणामैकश्रुत्यं भवति ॥

34. In sacrificial works, there is Monotony, except in *japa* (silent repetition of a formula), Nyûṅkha vowels (sixteen sorts of om) and the *Sâma* vedas.

In "sacrificial works" or on occasions of sacrifice, the mantras of the Veda are recited in Ekas'ruti or monotony. But on occasions of ordinary reading, the mantras are to be recited with their proper three-fold accents.

"Japa" is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper. Nyûṅkha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of "Om." Some of these are pronounced with udâtta and others with anudâtta accent. Sâmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As:—अग्निर्मूर्द्धा दिवः ककुत्पतिः पृथिव्या अयम्। अपाम् रेतांसि जिन्वतो३ म् (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).

When a mantra is recited as a *japa*, then it must be pronounced with accents :—As ममाग्ने वर्चो विहवेष्वस्तु (Rig Veda X. 128. 1).

When not employed on occasions of sacrifice, but are ordinarily read, the mantras must have their proper accent, and there will be no Ekas'ruti.

In the sâma chanting, the mantras should have their accent, there can be no Ekas'ruti there. As ए३विश्वं समत्रिणं दहा३. Here there is no Ekas'ruti.

उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैस्तराम्, वा, वषटकारः, (यज्ञकर्मणि, एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि वषट्कारः उच्चैस्तरां वा भवति एक श्रुतिर्वा ॥

35. The pronunciation of the word vashat may optionally be by raising the voice (acutely accented), or it may be pronounced with monotony.

The phrase "yajña-karma" is understood here. Even in yajña-karmas or sacrifices the word वौषट् may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word वषट् in the sûtra signifies वौषट्. But why was not the word वौषट् used in the text? It could have been used with as much ease as वषट्. To this natural query, the only answer is, विचित्राः हि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः strange and wonderful is the structure of Panini's aphorisms, Thus सोमस्याग्ने वीहीः३ वौ३ षट् or सोमस्याग्ने वीही३ वौ३ षट्.

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (एकश्रुतिः)

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विभाषा एक श्रुतिर्भवति पक्षान्तरे त्रैस्वर्यमेव भवति ॥

36. The Monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents.

In the Chhandas or the Vedas there is option either to use the Ekas'ruti tone or the three tones. Even on the occasion of ordinary reading, the Chhandas might be uttered either with the three accents or monotonously. Some say this is a limited option (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ).

The option allowed by this sûtra is to be adjusted in this way. In reading the Mantra portion of the Veda, every word must be pronounced with its proper accent : but in the Brâhmaṇa portion of the Veda there might be Ekas'ruti; while some say there must be Ekas'ruti necessarily and not optionally in the recitation of the Brahmaṇas.

Thus :—अग्निमीले पुरोहितं or simply अग्निमीले पुरोहितं. "I praise Agni the purohita."

The word वा "optionally" of the last sûtra could easily have been read into this sûtra by the rule of *anuvṛitti*; why then use the word विभाषा "optional" again? To this we reply, this apparently redundant repetition is for the sake of indicating that the *anuvṛitti* of the word यज्ञकर्मणि, which was understood in the last sûtra, does not extend to this. Had we taken the anuvṛitti of वा, the other word also would have been attracted; hence the separate use of the word विभाषा.

न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सुब्रह्मण्यायाम् स्वरितस्य , तु , उदात्तः , (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुब्रह्मण्यायामेकश्रुतिर्नभवति । यस्तु लक्षणप्राप्तः स्वरितस्तस्योदात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

37. There should be no Monotony in the recitation of the Subrahmaṇya hymns and in those hymns, the vowels, that would otherwise have taken the svarita accent, take the *udâtta* accent instead.

The subrahmaṇya hymns are portions of the Rig Veda mentioned in the s'atapatha Brâhmaṇa.

This sûtra prohibits Ekas'ruti in the case of certain prayers called s'ubrahmaṇya. By rule 34 read with 36 *ante*, prayers might be *optionally* uttered with Ekas'ruti accent. This ordains an exception to that rule In subrahmaṇya prayers there is no ekas'ruti; and in these hymns, a vowel which otherwise by any rule of grammar would have taken a svarita accent, takes an udâtta accent instead.

As सुब्रह्मण्यो३ मिन्द्रागच्छ हरिव आगच्छ. Here the word सुब्रह्मण्य is formed by the addition of the affix यत् to the word सुब्रह्मण् , and this य will get *svarita*

accent by VI. 1. 185, (तित्स्वरितम्) as it has an indicatory त्; by the present sûtra, this nascent *svarita* is changed into udâtta. In the phrase इन्द्र आगच्छ, the word Indra being in the vocative case, इ is udâtta, the अ of *Indra* is anudâtta VI. 1. 198[1]. The *anudâtta* preceded by an udâtta is changed into *svarita* (VIII. 4. 66)[2].

Thus the अ of इन्द्र must become svarita, but by the present sûtra this nascent *svarita* is changed into an uddâtta. Thus in इन्द्र, both vowels become udâtta. In the word आगच्छ, the आ is *udâtta*; the next letter which was anudâtta becomes *svaritta*, and from *svarita* it is changed to *udâtta* by the present rule. Thus in the sentence इन्द्र आगच्छ the first four syllables are all acutely accented, the fifth syllable is only *anudâtta*. So also in हरिव आगच्छ, for the reasons given above, the letters व and च्छ are anudátta, the rest are all acutely accented.

देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ देव-ब्रह्मणोः, अनुदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवब्रह्मणोः स्वरितस्यानुदात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

38. The word *deva* and Brahmâṇa in those hymns have *anudâtta* accent.

By sûtra 37, it was declared, that in subrahmaṇya hymns, *svarita* accent is replaced by *udâtta* accent. This sûtra makes an exception in favour of the words देवा and ब्राह्मण occurring in those hymns. These words have *anudâtta* accent. As देवा ब्रह्माण आगच्छत 'come ye Devâs and Brahmâṇas.' Here the word देवा gets udâtta accent on the first syllable by rule VI. 1. 198[1]. (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): वा *vâ* has originally an anudâtta accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66[2] (an *anudâtta* following an *udâtta* is changed into *svarita*) would have been changed into *svarita*. This *svarita*, by the previous sûtra required to be changed into *udâtta*; but by this rule, it is replaced by *anudâtta*. In other words, the original *anudâtta* remains unchanged.

स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितात्, संहितायाम्, अनुदात्तानाम्, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायाम् विषये स्वरितात्परेषामनुदात्तानामेकश्रुतिर्भवति ॥

39. The Monotony takes the place of the *anudâtta* vowels which follow the *svarita* vowels, in close proximity (*sanhitâ*).

Sanhitâ is the joining of two or more words in a sentence, for the purposes of reading or reciting. When words are thus glued together, then

(1) आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ (2) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥

the *anudâtta* accents become Ekas'ruti if they are preceded by *svarita* vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वती (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvsti! this mine.

Here the word इमं has udâtta on the last syallable: the word मे is originally *anudâtta*, but by rule VIII. 4. 66 [1] following an *udâtta*, it is changed into *svarita*; after this *svatrita* all *anudâtta* like गङ्गे, &c., are replaced by ekas'ruti. All the vowels of the words गङ्गे, यमुने &c, had anudâtta accent by rule VIII. 1. 19 [2] (all vocatives get anudâtta if standing in the middle of a sentence and not beginning a stanza.)

The word "sanhita" has been used in the sûtra to show that when there is a hiatus between the words then there is no change of anudâtta into ekas'ruti. The word sanhitâ will be defined in sûtra I. 4. 109 [3].

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त-स्वरितपरस्य, सन्नतरः, (अनुदात्तानाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तपरस्य स्वरितपरस्य चानुदात्तस्य सन्नतरआदेशो भवति ॥

40. The accent called *Sannatara* is substituted in the room of an *anudâtta* vowel, which has an *udâtta* or *svarita* vowel following it.

In the previous sûtra it was said that an *anudâtta* preceded by a *svarita* becomes Ekas'ruti. If, however, such an *anudâtta* is followed by an udâttâ or a *svarita*, it does not become Ekas'ruti but becomes *sannatara*, *i.e.* lower than *anudâtta*.

The *sannatara* is therefore that accent which was originally *anudâtta*, and which is preceded by a *svarita* and is followed by an udâtta or a *svarita*.

This is one explanation of the sûtra. There is another explanation which does not take the anuvritti of Ekas'ruti in this sûtra. The anudâtta is replaced by *sannatara* when such anudâtta immediately precedes an udâtta or a *svarita*. The *sannatara* is also called anudâtta. As देवा मरुतः पृश्निमातरोपः ॥

Here the word मातरः is anudâtta. The word अपः has udâtta on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171.[4] In the phrase मातरोपः (मातरः+अपः) the syllable रो is anudâtta, because anudâtta + anudâtta = anudâtta. This *anudâtta* ओ, preceding the *udâtta* पः, is changed into *sannatara*.

अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपृक्तः, एक-अल्, प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपृक्त इतीयं संज्ञा भवति एकाल् यः प्रत्ययस्तस्य ॥

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(1) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः (2) आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ (3) परः संनिकर्षः संहिता ॥
(4) उडिदम्पदाद्यप्पुम्रैद्युभ्यः ॥

41. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

This defines *Aprikta* affixes. They are those affixes which consist of only one letter of the alphabet. Thus the affix त् *t* in असेधीत् is a one lettered suffix and is an *Aprikta*. Similarly the âffix क्विन् *kvin* is an *Aprikta*, because the letters क्, इ, and न् are merely indicatory, the real affix is व् *v*. This व् *v* being a single letter, and therefore an *Aprikta*, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 67 [1] (the *Aprikta* व् *v* is elided). Thus घृतस्पृश्+क्विन्=घृतस्पृक्+व् = (III. 2. 58)[2] = घृतस्पृक् ॥ अंशभज् + ण्वि = अंशभाक् 'co-sharer.' (III. 2. 62).[3] An affix which consists of more than one letter is not an *Aprikta*. As दर्वि : 'a ladle' formed by the Uṇâdi affix विन् (वृदृभ्यां विन्).

तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, समानाधिकरणः, कर्मधारयः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणपदः कर्मधारयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

42. A Tat-purusha compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhâraya* or Appositional Determinative compound.

"Karmadhâraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (Tat-purusha). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black-beetle, sky-blue." (Max Muller).

The compounds like नीलोत्पलं 'the blue lotus', परमात्मा 'the supreme spirit' &c., are examples of karmadhâraya compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samânâdhikaraṇa), whereas in other Tat-purushas, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As, परमराज्यम्, is a karmadhâraya compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a karmadhâraya compound, the *udâtta* accent would have fallen on the syllable रा by rule VI. 2. 130,[4] (the word राज्यम् has udâtta on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in karmadhâraya).

Similarly पाचिका + वृन्दारिका = पाचकवृन्दारिका (VI. 3. 42,[5] the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhâraya).

Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound, it won't be karmadhâraya. As पाचिका+भार्या = पाचिकाभार्यः. 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a Bahuvrîhi compound, and therefore the word पाचिका retains its gender sign.

(1) वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ (2) स्पृशोऽनुदके क्विन् ॥ (3) भजो ण्विः ॥ (4) अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥ (5) पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥

A compound may be a Tat-purusha, but if its component parts do not refer to the same thing and are not in the same case, it won't be karmadhâraya:—ब्राह्मण राज्यम् Brâhmaṇa râjyam, 'a Brahmana kingdom.' Here राज्यम् gets udâtta on the first syllable by the rule already mentioned (VI. 2. 130).

प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमा-निर्दिष्टम्, समासे, उपसर्जनम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमया विभक्त्या यन्निर्दिश्यते समासशास्त्रे तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति ॥

43. In (this book, in the sûtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

This defines or rather describes the Upasarjana. In the sûtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called Upasarjanam.

Thus sûtra II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः) is a samâsa sûtra enjoining composition. In this sûtra the word द्वितीया is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sûtra means: "An accusative (द्वितीया) is compounded with the words श्रित, अतीत, पतित, गत, अत्यस्त, प्राप्त, and आपन्न and forms Tat-purusha". Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus कष्टं + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः. Here the word कष्ट being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30. उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्, (in a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative Tat-purusha, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus शंकुलाखण्डः, यूपदारु वृकभयम्, राजपुरुषः, अक्षशौण्डः.

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called प्रधान or principal.

एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-विभक्ति, च, अपूर्व-निपाते, (उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एका विभक्तिर्यस्य तदिदमेकविभक्ति, समासे विधीयमाने यन्नियतविभक्तिकं द्वितीये सम्बन्धिनि बहुभिर्विभक्तिभिर्युज्यमानेऽप्येकयैव विभक्त्या युज्यते तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति, अपूर्वनिपाते, पूर्वनिपातं पूर्वनिपाताख्यमुपसर्जनकार्यं वर्जयित्वा ॥

44. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case, is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i.e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samâsa i.e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix; apûrva-nipâte, such a word will be an upasarajana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30)[1] which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c, when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. Ex: निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिः, निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिना, निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बये, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बौ.

Similarly the word निर्वाराणसिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राज्ञः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी; राज्ञः + कुमारीम् = राजकुमारीं; राज्ञः + कुमार्या = राजकुमार्या, राज्ञः + कुमार्यै = राजकुमार्यै.

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shorten-ed into इ as in the previous example.

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30)[1] cannot stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as कौशाम्बीनिः

अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थवत्, अधातुः, अप्रत्ययः, प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थवच्छब्दरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं भवति धातुप्रत्ययौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

45. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root *(dhâtu)*, or an affix *(pratyaya)* is called a *prâtipadika* or crude-form.

This defines the word "prâtipadika" or crude-form. The prâtipadika is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (pada), from the undifferentiated ore called the dhâtu or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called

(1) उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥

a prâtipadika, as डित्थः 'a wooden elephant,' कपित्थ ' the wood-apple tree,' कुण्डम् 'a bowl,' पीठम् 'a seat.:

Why do we say "significant"? Of course it must have some meaning. Thus of the word वनं, we cannot say that the portion वन् is prâtipadika ; as it has no meaning, and had it been a prâtipadika, the final न् would have been dropped by Rule VIII. 2. 7 [1] (the final न् of a prâtipadika is dropped).

The word must not be a verb, as the word अहन् (the third person sing. number, imperfect tense of हन्) he killed. Had it been a prâtipadika, the न् would have been dropped.

The word must not be an affix or ending in an affix:—as कुण्डे 'in the bowl.' Here the word ends in the affix इ of the locative case, and is consequently not a 'prâtipadika' or crude form, but a complete word. Had it been a prâtipadika, the ए would have been shortened into इ by rule 47 succeeding.

A nipâta or particle though not a significant form of a word, yet gets the designation of prâtipadika in the opinion of the author of the Mahâbhâshya. As अध्यागच्छति, प्रलम्बते.

कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्-तद्धित-समासाः , च , (प्रातिपदिकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतस्तद्धिताः समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

46. The forms ending in Krit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compound are also called *Prâtipadika.*

This further explains the use of the word prâtipadika. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, primary suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns, secondary suffixes. The former are called Krit, (III. 1. 93) [2], the latter *Taddhita* (IV. 1. 76).[3] Thus जन *jana*, man, is derived from the root जन् *jan* by the krit suffix अ ; but जनीन *janîna*, appropriate for man, is derived from जन *jana* by the Taddhita affix ईन *îna.* The name prâtipadika would apply both to जन *jana* and जनीन *janîna*, as nominal bases ready to receive the terminations of declension" (Max Müller).

Of the compounds, of which there are six varieties, we had occasion to refer to five already, *viz.* Tat-purusha, Karmadhâraya, Dvandva, Bahuvrîhi and Avyayîbhâva. They will be fully dealt with in their proper places.

In the last sûtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sûtra makes an important provision in favour of words ending in Krit or *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called prâtipadika. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

(1) नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥ (2) कृदतिङ् ॥ (3) तद्धिताः ॥

The words formed by kṛit affixes are prâtipadika, as कृ (to do)+ण्वुल्= कृ + वु = कार् + अक = कारक. The affix ण्वुल् is a kṛit affix, and it is added to the root to form agent by Rule III. I. 133.[1] The letters ण् and ल् are indicatory, the force of ण् being to cause the vṛidhi of the vowel of the root. The real affix वु is changed into अक by VII. I. 1[2]. the affixes यु and वु are replaced by अन and अक respectively. Thus the form कारक is a prâtipadika, and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as कारकः ॥ Similarly कृ+तृच (III. I. 133)[1] =कर्तृ ; nom. case कर्ता.

The word formed by Taddhita affixes are also prâtipadika ; उपगु+अण् = औपगो + अ = औपगव 'the son of the Rishi Upagu': nom. case औपगवः. Similarly कापटवः.

In fact in the chapters treating of these affixes, the derivative substantives formed by them are always shown by the Indian Grammarians in the nominative case singular number. The examples of nouns given in this book will be always declined nouns and not prâtipadikas, except in peculiar cases. So also in the chapter of samâsa or compounds.

The words ending in compound are prâtipadika : as राज्ञः+पुरुषः=राजपुरुष, nom. case राजपुरुषः.

ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः, नपुंसके, प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गेऽर्थे यत्प्रातिपदिकं वर्त्तते तस्य ह्रस्वो भवति आदेशोऽन्त्यस्याचः ॥

47. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prâtipadika.

In the neuter gender, the prâtipadika that would have ended in a long vowel, changes it into short. Thus अति+रै=अतिरि 'extravagant', as अतिरि कुलम् 'an extravagant family' ; अति लो=अतिलु 'very hairy', अतिलु कुलं 'a very hairy family.'

There is no substitution of short vowel, if the noun is not in the neuter gender, as ग्राम + नी = ग्रामणी, nom case ग्रामणीः 'the leader of a village or head-borough.' Similarly सेनानीः 'the leader of an army.'

A word may be in the neuter gender, but if it is not a prâtipadika, the vowel is not shortened. As काण्डे तिष्ठतः 'two cantos remain.' Here the ए of काण्डे is formed by the coalescence of अ (of the prâtipadika काण्ड) and इ (the dual case termination) ; thus काण्ड+इ=काण्डे. Now it might be urged that here one letter ए replaces two letters अ and इ. Therefore this substitute is equivalent to each of those letters separately, and consequently ए is the vowel of the prâtipadika and ought to be shortened. But this is not

(1) ण्वुल् तृ चौ ॥ (2) युवोरनाकौ ॥

to be so, because the word prâtipadika has been especially mentioned in the text, and therefore this ekâdés'a is not treated as the final of the form which precedes it.

गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-स्त्रियोः, उपसर्जनस्य, (प्रातिपदिकस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनगोशब्दान्तस्य उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तस्य च प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईयसोबहुव्रीहिः प्रतिषेधावक्तव्यः ॥

48. A short vowel is the substitute of prâtipadika which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as upasarjana.

The word upasarjana has been defined in sûtra 43. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened when it stands last and is an upasarjana.

Thus चित्र+गो=चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a Bahuvrîhi or possessive compound. So also शबलगु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those prâtipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः+कौशाम्बी =निष्कौशाम्बिः. Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाराणसिः.

The word prâtipadika of the previous sûtra is understood in this. The word गो in the sûtra means the form गो and not other words synonym with it. The word स्त्री means "a word ending in a feminine affix," because it has the *svarita* accent. The word upasarjana qualifies both these words, *i. e.* when गो is an upasarjana and when a word having a feminine termination is an upasarjana.

Other examples are:—अति+खट्वा=अतिखट्वः 'without a bed-stead' अतिमालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an upasarjana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word *formed by the addition of an affix*, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore we have अतिलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty', अतिश्रीः ॥

Vart:—In Bahuvrîhi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी, विद्यमानश्रेयसी।

लुक्तद्धितलुकि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, तद्धित-लुकि, (स्त्री, उपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितलुकि सति स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य उपसर्जनस्य लुग्भवति ॥

49. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix of the upasarjana.

The word लुक् defined in sûtra 61, Chapter I, is twice used in this sûtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्, there the feminine suffix of the prâtipadika is also dropped, or becomes *luk.* Thus there are certain Taddhita suffixes by which patronymics are formed (one of them being अण्) from other nouns. Before this अण् the initial vowel of the word is vriddhied and the final is gunated. Thus सिन्धु, 'ocean', forms सिन्धु+अण् = सैन्धो + अ = सैन्धव 'born in ocean or oceanic.' But there are certain words, e. g. श्रविष्ठा, फल्गुणि &c., which are all feminine gender (see sûtra IV. 3, 34)[1] after which the patronymic suffix is totally elided, without leaving any trace of its action, by using the word luk. Thus श्रविष्ठा + (अण् लुक्)=श्रविष्ठः ॥ Here then the present sûtra finds its scope. The Taddhita suffix being *luked*; the original feminine termination आ also becomes *luk.* Therefore the patronymic derivative of श्रविष्ठा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely श्रविष्ठः; similarly from फल्गुनी we have फल्गुनः &c.

Thus there is a feminine suffix called ङीष् (actually ई) and certain words like इन्द्र &c., (IV. 1. 49)[2] take an additional suffix called आनुक् (actually आन्. Thus the feminine of इन्द्र will be इन्द्र + आनुक् + ङीष् = इन्द्र + आन् + ई = इन्द्राणी. Now in forming Dvigu compound (Numeral Determinative compound), the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus पंचकपालः an offering (purodash) made in a dish with five compartments.' In this compound the Taddhita suffix अण् is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been कापालः ॥ Similarly when the word इन्द्राणी forms a Dvigu compound, the Taddhita suffixes are dropped But not only that, even the original radical affixes are also dropped by force of the present sûtra. Thus पंचेंद्रः which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses इन्द्राणी. Here the full form was पंच+इन्द्राणी + अण्. (The suffix अण् has the force of "sacred to God." Thus इन्द्र + अण् = ऐन्द्रं sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita suffix अण् is *luked* by rule contained in sûtra IV. 1. 88[3] relating to Dvigu compounds: we have then remaining पंच+ इन्द्राणी. In this stage, the present sûtra comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been *luked*, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarjana prâtipadika are also *luked*. Therefore, the feminine suffixes आनुक् and ङीष् are also dropped, and we have पंचेन्द्रः which means "cake sacred to the five Indrâṇis. (goddesses)."

(1) श्रविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्य पुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुलाल्लुक् ॥ (2) इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥ (3) द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥

The word स्त्री and upasarjana of the last sûtra are understood in this. By the last sûtra, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened when it was an upasarjana; this sûtra teaches the total suppression of such an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163 declares फलेलुक् "luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or product when fruit is meant." Thus यत् is an affix which means modification. Thus गो + यत् = गव्यम् 'cow's milk or the product of cow.' This affix is suppressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thu the fruit of the tree आमलकी will be called आमलकं, *i.e.* first the Taddhita affix is *luked*, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of वदरी or बकुली trees are बदरं or बकुलं.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so when any other affix is *luked*. Thus गार्ग्याः + कुलं = गार्गीकुलम् 'the family of Gârgî.' Here in forming the samâsa, the case affix of the word gârgî is *luked* by II. 4. 71 [1]. But this suppression of the genitive termination does not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix ई of gârgî.

This rule would not also apply if there is no elision by *luk* of a Taddhita affix, as in गार्गीत्वम्.

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasarjana. As अवन्ती, कुन्ती, कुरूः.

इद् गोण्याः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, गोण्याः, (तद्धितलुकि) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ गोण्यास्तद्धितलुकि सति इकारादेशो भवति ॥

50. The short is substituted in the place of goṇî, when Taddhita affix is elided by luk.

By the former sûtra when a Taddhita is elided, the long ई of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word गोणी in which, under similar circumstances the short इ replaces the long ई, as in the compound पंचगोणिः 'purchased for five goṇis.' Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of "purchased for," has been rejected after गोणी by V. 1 28.[2] Therefore by previous sûtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sûtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ.

This sûtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhâga. Thus इत् is made one sûtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ. Thus purchased with five needles पंचभिः सूचीभिः क्रीतः = पंचसूचिः, दशसूचिः. This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

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(1) सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ (2) अध्यर्द्धपूर्वद्विगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम् ॥

लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुपि, युक्तवत्, व्यक्ति-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः॥ लुपीति लुप्संज्ञया लुप्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थ उच्यते ; तत्र लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्ति वचने भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खलतिकादिषु वचनम् ॥

51. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप्, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

This sûtra consists of four words: 1. लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्'; 2. युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same;' 3. व्यक्ति 'gender;' 4. वचनं 'number.' The form vyakti vachane is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is luped, then the derivative word *retains* the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and 'let there be a लुप्' ॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by luk rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by *lup* rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word शिरीषाः, meaning 'a village not far away from शिरीष trees', the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender; similarly the word पंचालाः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sûtra is not an approved rule; as will be mentioned by Pâṇini in sûtra 53 following and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus पंचालाः are a class of Kshatriyas. As such it is masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchâlâs live is also called Pañchâlâs; similarly कुरवः, मागधाः &c. There is a rule जनपदेलुप् (IV. 2. 81, the *lup* takes the place of an affix when signifying the proper name of a country or kingdom). Thus पंचालाः + अण् (this is one of the affixes forming country) = पंचालाः.

This rule does not apply when the affix is suppressed by the word लुक् &c. and not लुप्. Thus लवणः सूपः 'salted soup', लवणायवागु: 'salted gruel,' लवणं शाकं 'salted vegetable.' Here the affix ठक् has been elided by the word *luk*, by IV. 4 24, लवणाल्लुक् (after the word lavana the affix is *luked*).

These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that शिरीषाः, s'irîshâḥ, is the name of a village and is formed by the *lup* of the affix. Now compounding it with वन we have शिरीषवनम्, 'the forest of the village Sirîshâ.' Here

the word शिरीषाः means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called s'irîsha, then the न of वन would have become ण optionally by Rule VIII. 4. 6. (विभाषौषधि वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ The न of the word वन is optionally changed into ण when preceded by words signifying annual herbs and trees).

Vart:—In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c., the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरीतक्य फलानि 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine.

Vart:—The words खलतिक &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खलतिकंवनानि 'mountain forests, i.e. forests in the vicinity of mountains.' Here खलतिकं is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same *viz.* neuter.

विशेषणानां चाजातेः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणानाम्, च, अजातेः, (लुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुबर्थस्ययानि विशेषणानि तेषामपि व्यक्तिवचने भवतो जातिं वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup* elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) so far as the *jâti* (or kind or species) is concerned; (or when not expressing *jâti*.)

When a Taddhita is *luped*, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पंचालाः रमणीयाः बह्वन्नाः, बहुक्षीरघृताः बहुमाल्यफलाः 'the pleasant Pañchâlâs having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीयाः, pleasant &c., agrees in number and gender with the Pañchâlâḥ; being also in masculine plural. But when such a derivative is used as a jâti word then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पंचालाः जनपदः, गोदौ ग्रामः. Here जनपद though qualifying Pañchâlâ does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by the *lup* of Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita-formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचालाः जनपदो रमणीयो बह्वन्नः, 'the country of Pañchâlâs is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words रमणीयः and बह्वन्नः qualify directly the word 'जनपदः' and indirectly the word Pañchâlâs, and therefore do not agree with the latter.

The explanation of this sûtra as given by Patanjali in the Mahâbhâshya is somewhat different from that of the Kâs'ikâ. The phrase चाजातेः is analysed by him as च and आजातेः, the sense being "and as far as the jâti goes." The word jâti is thus explained :—

A word expressing whatever is distinguishable by its form or figure, or which begins the name of an individual is easily found applicable to others without any further teaching, (a common name) provided it is not a word used in all genders, (common noun मुख्यजाति genus) ; and (only for the purpose of grammar as coming under the rules relating to the abovementioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas (शाखा) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read शाखाध्येतृ (s'âkhâdhyetṛi) (गौणजाति) = जातिवाचकाः (jâtivâchakâḥ) आकृति गृहणज्जातिर्लिंगानां च नसर्वभाक्। सकृदाख्यात निग्राह्य गोत्रं च चरणैः सह ॥

The following examples will illustrate the meaning of the above definition :—(1) तट is a jâti word because it denotes what is distinguishable by its form, i. e. by its being contiguous to a place covered with water, (2) शूद्र is such a word, because when given as the name of an individual, is applicable to other s'ûdras (common name), (3) औपगव is such a word, and (4) कठ a person belonging to the family competent to read the branch of the Vedas called kaṭha is also such a word. But देवदत्त is not such a word, because it is a proper name applicable to only one individual and शुक्र is likewise not such a word, because it, though a common name, is used in all genders.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the लुप् elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कन् (क) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus अश्वकः means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चंचा means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चंचा+कन्लुप् (लुम्मनुष्ये V. 3. 98) = चञ्चा. Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चंचा अभिरूपः 'the delightful straw figure of man.' वध्रिकाः दर्शनीयः 'a beautiful representation of an eunuch.'

तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अशिष्यम्, संज्ञा प्रमाणत्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदशिष्यं न वक्तव्यं कस्मात्संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

53. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives) need not be taught (or approved), because it has the authority of samjñâ (or conventional term or idiom).

The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word दाराः 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to females, similarly आपः 'water' is always feminine plural in form, so also गृहाः वर्षाः सिकताः. This sûtra, therefore, modifies the former sûtras and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like Pañchâlâs, Kaurava, &c, should not be considered as derivative words formed by the lup elision of Taddhita; but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries; consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of grammar.

लुब् योगाप्रख्यानात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप, योग- अप्रख्यानात्, (अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योऽयं जनपदे लुप् वरणादिभ्यश्चेति लुबुच्यते अयं न वक्तव्यः, किं कारणं योगाप्रख्यानात् नहि पञ्चाला वरणा इति योगः सम्बन्धः प्रख्यायते नैतदुपलभामहे वृक्षयोगान्नगरे वरणा इति ॥

54. The sûtras declaring lup elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by lup elision.

In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact that the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all, to make it vanish.

Thus वरणाः Varaṇâh is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from वरणाः a kind of tree, because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no trees वरणा at all near the town Varaṇâ. Let us therefore call words like वरणा, पञ्चाला, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 (तस्य निवासः, अदूरभवश्च) relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV. 2, 81 and 82 (जनपदेलुप्, वरणादिभ्यश्च).

योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ योग-प्रमाणे, च, तद्-अभावे, आदर्शनम्, स्यात्,

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चालादयः संज्ञा शब्दा न योगनिमित्ताइत्युक्तं. तथावश्यमेवाभ्युपगन्तव्यं योग-प्रमाणेहि तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात्, यदि पञ्चालादि शब्दो योगस्य प्रमाणं योगस्य वाचकः स्यात् ततस्तद-भावेऽदर्शनमप्रयोगः स्यात् ॥

55. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

This sûtra strengthens the former sûtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that, there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by *lup* elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like पंचालाः &c. are not derivative words, &c. but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Panchâlâs be the name of the country in which the Kshatryas called Pañchâlâs live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchâlâs. But we know, as a matter of fact, these words are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called रूढि words.

प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रधान-प्रत्यय, अर्थ-वचनम् अर्थस्य, अन्यप्रमाणत्वात् (अशिष्यं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रधानं समासे किञ्चित्पदं प्रत्ययस्तव्यदादिः ताभ्यामर्थवचनमर्थाभिधानमनेन प्रका-रेण भवतीति पूर्वाचार्यैः परिभाषितम् प्रधानोपसर्ज्जने प्रधानार्थंसहब्रूतः प्रकृति प्रत्ययौसहार्थं ब्रूत इति। तत् पाणिनिराचार्थः प्रत्याचष्टे अशिष्यमेतत् अर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वादिति। अन्य इति शास्त्रापेक्षया लोकोऽयपदिश्यते, शब्दैरर्थाभिधानं स्वाभाविकं न पारिभाषिकमशक्यत्वात्। लोकत एवार्थावगतेः ॥

56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pardhâna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or drivative) consists in something else.

This sûtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; Pradhâna: 'Principal in a compound.' As in the compound राजपुरुषः 'king's man,' the word râja is Upasarjana; and पुरुषः is pradhâna. 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. अर्थ 'meaning.' 4. वचनम् 'word or sentence.'

In the time of Pâṇini, there were some grammarians who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word; and if a derivative word, then by the suffix. Pâṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that inasmuch as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it; or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pâṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes, &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Raja-purusha. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an औपगव he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

कालोपसर्ज्जने च तुल्यम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-उपसर्ज्जने, च, तुल्यम्, (अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालोपसर्ज्जने चाशिष्ये कस्मादर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

57. And a rule fixing the meaning of Tense (kâla) and Upasarjana (sequence) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Here Pâṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past, &c. Pâṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sûtra.

To give another example. Thus अद्यतनः कालः or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Acharyas :—"The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana." Others say "from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day." Similarly others have explained the 'upasarjana' to mean "that which is not the principal word in a compound is called upasarjana." The sage Pâṇini has not thought it worth his while to define such word as upasarjana, inasmuch as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses; they say: "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to-morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasarjana, for they say:—"वयमत्र गृहे ग्रामे वा उपसर्जनम् 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sûtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sûtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are also not taught by Pâṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. "A Bahuvrîhi compound connotes ownership." "In Dvanda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" "In Avyayîbhâva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c.

जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जाति-आख्याम्, एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्नर्थे बहुवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥

58. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

The words of this sûtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jâti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sûtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvritti of as'ishyam does not go further.

It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्नो यवः or संपन्ना यवाः; "Full grown barley" पूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयः or पूर्ववयसो ब्राह्मणाः प्रत्युत्थेयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jâti in this sûtra? For this aphorism does not apply to Proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, यज्ञदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jâti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of Kâsyapa may also be called kâs'yapa; this is a class noun; but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say 'ekasmin'? When two or more class names are compounded as व्रीहियवौ 'the rice and barley': the rule does not apply.

Vart:—An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको व्रीहिः संपन्नः सुभिक्षं करोति.

अस्मदो द्वयोश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदः, द्वयोः, च, (एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनं अन्यतरस्याम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मदो यो ऽर्थस्तस्यैकत्वे द्वित्वे च बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदि गुरावेकेषाम् ॥

59. The plural of the pronoun asmad, 'I,' is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ब्रूमः), may be spoken by one person; similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case; thus आवां ब्रूवः 'we two speak' or वयं ब्रूमः 'we speak.'

Vart:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as अहं देवदत्तो ब्रवीमि, 'I Devadatta am speaking.' अहं गार्ग्यो ब्रवीमि, 'I Gârgya am saying.' Here we cannot use the plural.

Vart:—The word गुरु 'master' may have plural form though referring to one person, when following the word युष्मद; as त्वं मे गुरुः or यूयं मे गुरवः. 'Thou art my master,' or 'you are my master.'

फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ फल्गुनी-प्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फल्गुन्योर्द्वयोः प्रोष्ठपदश्च द्वयोर्नक्षत्रयोर्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

60. And the dual of Phâlgunî and Proshthapadâ, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).



The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvritti of the word द्वयः from the last. Of the stars phalgunî and proshṭhapadâ, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिते पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual); or उदिताः पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः (plural.) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunî and proshṭhapadâ, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sûtra ordains plural optionally. If phalgunî and proshthapada are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number: as फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

छन्दसि पुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, पुनर्वस्वोः, एक-वचनम्, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयोर्द्विवचने प्राप्ते पुनर्वस्वोश्छन्दसि विषये एकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

61. In the Vedas, the two stars, Punarvasû, may optionally be singular (and connote a dual).

In the Vedas, the star *punarvasû* which is always *dual* in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As पुनर्वसुर्नक्षत्रं or पुनर्वसू नक्षत्रमदितिर्देवता ॥ The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in secular literature. In the latter it must be in the dual, that is, पुनर्वसू ॥ Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option. As पुनर्वसू माणवकौ.

विशाखयोश्च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशाखयोः, च (छन्दसि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषये विशाखयोरेकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

62. In the Vedas, the two stars Vis'âkhâ may optionally be in the singular number.

The word विशाखा is in the dual number as a rule. In the Vedas, it is found sometime to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus विशाखा नक्षत्रम् or विशाखे नक्षत्रमिन्द्राग्नी देवता ॥

तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्य-पुनर्वस्वोः, नक्षत्र-द्वन्द्वे, बहुवचनस्य, द्वि-वचनम्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रविषये द्वन्द्वे बहुवचनप्रसङ्गे नित्यं द्विवचनं भवति ॥

63. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasû, the dual constantly comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasû (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसू दृश्येते 'the Tishya and Punarvasû having risen are seen (dual).'

There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasû. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number. Why do we say 'Tishya' and 'Punarvasû'? Observe विशाखानुराधाः 'the stars Visâkhâ and Anurâdhâ.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars but are used in any other sense. As तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasûs.'

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sûtra, when the previous sûtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasû. As तिष्यपुनर्वसू; पुष्यपुनर्वसू, सिद्धपुनर्वसू ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus तिष्यपुनर्वसवः is an example of Bahuvrîhi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasû."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु इदमिति.

This sûtra indicates by implication (jñapaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular" for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sûtra would be superfluous.

The word 'always' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sûtra and does not extend to it or any further.

सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सरूपाणाम्, एक-शेष, एक-विभक्तौ,

वृत्ति ॥ सरूपाणां शब्दानां एकविभक्तौ परत एकशेषो भवति ॥

64. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sûtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekas'esha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped. Thus वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षौ (trees, in dual) वृक्षः+वृक्षः+वृक्षः=वृक्षाः.

Every individual thing requires an individual word to express it; one word therefore could not express many things; to prevent the repetition of

the same word to express many objects of similar form, is the purpose of this sûtra, by which one word is only retained.

This applies only to words having the same form and not if they have different forms; as प्लक्ष न्यग्रोधाः the plaksha and nyagrodha trees.

The word "form" is used in the text to show that even if two words have different meanings, but the same form, the rule of Ekas'esha will apply, as अक्षः (die) + अक्ष (eye) + अक्ष (axle) = अक्षाः. Similarly पाशाः and भाषाः.

The present rule only applies to the retention of *one*, and prevents the retention of two or more.

The word शेष (retention) is used to show that there is not a *substitution* (âdes'a) of one for many, but the *retention* of one out of many.

The rule will not apply if the two words are in different case-terminations, though they may have the same form. As पयः (1. s.) पयो (2. s.) जरयति ब्राह्मणाभ्यां (3 d.) च कृतं ब्राह्मणाभ्यां (4. d.) च देहि.

वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धः, यूना, तत्-लक्षणः, चेद् एव, विशेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धोयूनासहवचनेशिष्यते युवानिवर्त्तते तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः ॥

65. The vriddha (or patronymic Gotra word becomes ekas'esha, and is retained, when compounded) with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affix) only.

The word s'esha of the previous sûtra is understood here. The word "yûnâ" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vriddha word. The word Vriddha means gotra: the old âcharyas (grammarians) used the word Vriddha for gotra. The vriddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and original head of the family a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vriddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words, gotra and yuvan, are defined in sûtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा)॥ Roughly speaking a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family when a son of such person is living; and a vriddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sûtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakshaṇa 'sign' in the sûtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sûtra means 'if.' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sûtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्ग्यौ. Here the first word denotes a clan called Gârgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यञ् (IV. I. 105) [1] the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix फक् denoting a secondary derivative.[2] In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gârgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वात्स्यः + वात्स्यायनः वात्स्यौ ॥

This Ekas'esha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same *radical* form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to :—गार्ग्यः (a Vṛiddha word + वात्स्यायनः (a yuvan word)=गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

This rule of ekas'esha does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः+गार्ग्यायणः=गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्गौ । Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sûtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, *i. e.* form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not applicable. Thus rule IV. 1. 148[3] says a "Vṛiddha word may optionally take the affix ठक् to form a yuvan word and *to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvira.*" Thus भागवित्तिः + भागवित्तिकः = भागवित्तिभागवित्तिकौ. Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix ठक् is not merely a yuvan affix but conveys the other sense also, the pure yuvan word being भागवित्तायनः.

N. B.—The system of domestic economy among the ancient Aryas was considerably different from the prevalent one. The surnames or the gotras represented the patriarchal system. Three forms of surnames are constantly met with in ancient literature. The first was most important: it was the patronymic by which the lord of the united family, the patriarch, was known. For example, Garga or Gargâchârya was the recognised head of all the Gargas who may be a hundred. His eldest son and heir was called Gârgi. This is the first form of the patronymic (apatya). The grandsons or sons of Gârgi were named Gârgyas (Vriddham or Gotra). On the decease of the old patriarch, Gârgi began to be called Garga; and the eldest of the grandsons was called Gârgi; and those great-grandsons who belonged to the family, and were designated Gârgâyanas (yuvan) were now called Gârgyas."

(1) गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ (2) यञिञोश्च ॥ (3) वृद्धाट्ठक्सौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥

स्त्री पुंवच्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्री, पुंवत्, च (शेषवृद्धयूना तल्ल० वि०)

वृत्ति. ॥ स्त्री वृद्धा यूना सहवचने शिष्यते तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषो भवति ॥

66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a vriddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra and in the feminine gender is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sûtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sûtra. Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्ग्यौ. Here note that the resultant form is the same as in the former sûtra, namely the masculine.

Similarly दाक्षी + दाक्षायणः = दाक्षी (masculine dual of दाक्षि).

Vart.—The word *stri* in the sûtra means Vriddhâ strî, that is the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant considered as the female head of the family. The words 'tal lakshanas' chedeva vis'eshah' of the previous sûtra govern this sûtra also, *i. e.* the distinction between the two words must be in their formative element and not in any thing else.

पुमान् स्त्रिया ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमान्, स्त्रिया (शेषः, तल्लक्षणश्चेदेवविशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रियासहवचने पुमान् शिष्यते स्त्रीनिवर्त्तते स्त्रीपुंसलक्षणश्चेदेवविशेषो भवति ॥

67. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekas'esha, and the latter is dropped.

When two words of different genders differ only in their derivative elements but not in their radical elements, that is to say, one is masculine and the other feminine because of certain affixes, the masculine only is retained and the feminine is dropped.

The governing force of the words 'vriddha' and 'yuvan,' of sûtra 65, does not extend to this sûtra, but the remaining portion of sûtra 65 is to be read into this sûtra. When a masculine word is read along with a feminine word, the feminine word is dropped and the masculine is retained, when the difference between the two words is caused only by the feminine and masculine affixes: as ब्राह्मणः + ब्राह्मणी = ब्राह्मणौ 'the Brâhmana and the Brâhmanî'; कुक्कुटः + कुक्कुटी = कुक्कुटौ. 'the cock and hen.'

But not so in the following :— कुक्कुटः + मयूरी=कुक्कुटमयूर्यौ 'the cock and the peahen.' Similarly गणकः + गणकी = गणकगणक्यौ. Here the feminine affix ङीष्, by which the word gaṇakī is formed from gaṇaka, in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV. 1. 48, पुंयोगादाख्यायाम्, meaning the "wife of" a gaṇaka and not a feminine gaṇaka.; so also इन्द्रश्च इन्द्राणी चेन्द्रेन्द्राण्यौ ॥ Similarly आर्यः + आर्या = आर्यौ but आर्यः + आर्याणी = आर्यार्याण्यौ. Because the feminine affix in *aryani* conveys more than its feminine signification. See Rule IV. 1. 49.

This rule does not, of course, apply when it is not a masculine noun which is compounded, but it is a noun without any gender or neuter noun which is compounded with a feminine noun. Therefore प्राक् + प्राची= प्राक्प्राच्यौ. The word प्राक् is an indeclinable and is without any gender.

भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातृ-पुत्रौ, स्वसृ-दुहितृभ्याम्, (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथासंख्यं भ्रातृपुत्रशब्दौ शिष्येते सहवचने स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥

68. The words bhrâtṛi, 'brother,' and putra,' 'son,' when spoken of along with svasṛi, 'sister' and duhitṛi ' daughter' respectively are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sûtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in sûtra 65. Even where the radical elements of two words are different there may be an ekas'esha under special circumstances. Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरौ (brother and sister or brothers). Similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ= पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons).

N. B.—The practical application of this sûtra is very neatly illustrated by the following example. There is a verse in Yâjyañvalkya smriti पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा which declares that on the death of a sonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, parents and bhrâtaraḥ.

Here the word bhrâtaraḥ, if it be taken as simply the plural of bhrâtṛi, it means "brothers" and excludes sisters. But if it be interpreted according to this sûtra, it means "brothers and sisters"; and thus gives sisters a right to inherit property of their brothers.

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकम् , अनपुंसकेन , एकवत् , च अस्य , अन्यतरस्याम् , (शेष , तल्लक्षणश्चेदेवविशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकानपुंसकमात्रकृते विशेषेऽनपुंसकेन सहवचने नपुंसकं शिष्यते; एकवच्चास्य-कार्यं भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

69. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix, is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them; provided that the words differ in gender signs only; but radically they be the same. Thus आलस्यो मैथुनं निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्द्धते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyyamânam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'âlasyâ' which is in the masculine, 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidrâ' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter, the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekas'esha may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus शुक्लं + शुक्लं + शुक्लं = शुक्लानि ; the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadbhâva.

The words तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः of sûtra 65 governs this sûtra also: thus शुक्लश्च कम्बलः, शुक्ला च बृहतिका, शुक्लं च वस्त्रं. "The white (masc.) blanket, the white (*fem*) wrapper, and the white (*neut.*) garment," may all he spoken of collectively as शुक्लं (*neut.*).

पिता मात्रा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पिता, मात्रा (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रासह वचने पितृशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

70. The word pitṛi, 'father', is optionally only retained when spoken of along with mâtri, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरौ 'father and mother, or parents' or मातापितरौ. The verse quoted under sûtra 68 illustrates this sûtra also. There the word 'pitarau' has been explained by all commentators as "father and mother." The word "ekavad" of the last sûtra does not govern this sûtra; though the anuvṛitti of 'optionally' is to be read into this.

श्वशुरः श्वश्र्वा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वशुरः, श्वश्र्वा, (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वश्र्वासह वचने श्वशुरशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

71. The word s'vas'ura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with s'vas'rû, 'mother-in-law.'

Thus श्वशुरः + श्वश्रू may be either श्वशुरौ 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or श्वश्रश्वशुरौ ॥

त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, सर्वैः, नित्यम् (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि सर्वैः सहवचने नित्यं शिष्यन्ते त्यदाभिरन्यैश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्यदादीनां मिथोयद्यत्परंतत्च्छिष्यते ॥

72. The pronouns 'tyad &c.' when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as ekas'esha, (to the exclusion of others).

The list of 'tyadâdi' pronouns has been given under sûtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim;' when these tyadâdi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality'; *i. e. what ever* may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

Vart.—When त्यदादि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapâṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः + सः = यौ ; यः + कः = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I. 1, 27). So यद् will be retained and not तद्. Similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद्.

ग्राम्यपशुसंघेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम्य-पशु-संघेषु, अतरुणेषु, स्त्री, (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्राम्याणां पशूनां संघाः ग्राम्यपशुसंघाः ; एतेषु सह विवक्षायां स्त्री शिष्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकशफेष्वितिवक्तव्यम् ॥

73. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see 67). The present sûtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders,

the feminine noun is preferred; provided that the words should not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'pas'u' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'sangha.' As गाव इमा: 'these cows (and bulls);' अजा इमा: 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grâmya) animals and not to *wild* animals; and only to *beasts* (pas'u) and not men. As रुरव इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female); पृषता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female); ब्राह्मणा:, 'the Brâhmaṇas (male and female); चत्रिया:, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these the masculine noun is retained by Rule 67.

Vart.—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अश्वा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (sangha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरत:, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gâvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young"? वत्सा इमे 'these calves'; बर्करा इमे 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained by the application of Rule 67.

ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

भूवादयो धातवः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूव-आदयः , धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू इत्येवमादयः शब्दा क्रियावचना धातु संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhâtu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhâtu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9. Krî. 10. Chur.

• There are about two thousand verbs, and they are conjugated in two forms, some taking the Parasmaipada terminations only, the others the Atmanepada terminations and some both. The present chapter deals mostly with rules determining the nature of the verbal root, whether it is Parasmaipadi or Atmanepadi or both. A verb expresses action. The word dhâtu is a word coined by older grammarians than Pâṇini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also, therefore, the word dhâtu means a word which expresses action.

The वा in the sûtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of भू + आदि is भ्वादि and not भूवादि; while Dr. Ballantyne considers that वा is a separate root: he translates the sûtra thus:—"Let the verbal roots bhû 'be,' vâ 'blow' and the like be called dhâtu."

उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशे , अच् , अनुनासिकः , इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदिश्यतेऽनेनेति उपदेशः, शास्त्रवाक्यानि सूत्रपाठः खिलपाठश्च तत्र योऽजनुनासिकः स इत्संज्ञो भवति ॥

2. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upades'a, or original enunciation.

Anunâsika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicatory, when occuring in technical words. Thus in क्रित्, विद्, विच् the anunâsikâ इ is इत्. The original sûtra contains the word 'upades'a' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upades'a' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sûtrapâṭha, or gaṇapâṭha, or dhatu paṭha, &c.

From this sûtra up to sûtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इत्. "In Pâṇini's Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pâṇini's explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal." An upades'a is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (âgama), or a verbal root (dhâtu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एध 'to increase,' the final अ is indicatory, the real root is एध्. So also the final अ of स्पर्द्ध is इत्॥

If the word is not an upades'a, then the nasal vowel is not इत्॥ As अभ्र आँ अपः॥ A word may be an upades'a, and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sûtra III. 2. 74. (आतो मनिन् क्वनिब् वनिपश्च) It is only the nasal vowel of an upades'a that becomes इत् and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sûtras V. 2. 16. (आदितश्च &c.).

हलन्त्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्त्यम्, (उपदेशे इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वादेः समुदायस्य यदन्त्यं हल् तदित्संज्ञं भवति ॥

3. In upades'a, the final consona nt of roots, &c. is इत्.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes. &c., are indicatory. As in the pratyâhâra sûtras अ इ उ ण्; here ण् is इत्॥ ऋ लृ क्; here क् is इत्॥ ए ओङ्; here ङ् is इत्॥ ऐ औच्; here च् is इत्॥ It is only in upades'a, that a final consonant is इत्. Not therefore, in अग्निचित् or सोमसुत्, which are complete words.

न विभक्तौ तुस्माः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न विभक्तौ, तु-स्-माः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण प्राप्तायामित्संज्ञायां विभक्तौ वर्त्तमा नानां तवर्ग सकार मकाराणां प्रतिषेध उच्यते ॥

4. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and म् are not इत् in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

This is an exception to the previous sûtra which declared all final consonants to be इत्. In case terminations, the final त्, थ्, द्, ध्, न्, स्, and म्, are not इत्. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is जस्. Here the final स्, though a consonant is not an इत्; and is not rejected, as in ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The word तु in the sûtra means the letters of the class त by virtue of sûtra 69 Chapter I. (see ante). The word vibhakti will be defined later on in sûtra I. 4. 104. These are terminations applied to nouns in declining them through various cases; and to verbs in conjugating them. Thus in sûtra VII. 1. 12, (टाङसिङसामिनात्स्याः) the vibhaktis इन्, आत् and स्य replace टा, ङसि and ङस्. Here the final त् of the affix आत् is not indicatory and hence not rejected, as वृक्षात्. Similarly verbal terminations तस् and थस् as पचतः, पचथः ॥ So also the final म् as ताम् and तम् in अपचताम् and अपचतम् ॥.

This exception applies only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of यत् (III. 1. 97 अचोयत्;) युस् (V. 2. 123, ऊर्णाया युस्) and अम् (III. 1. 78 रुधादिभ्य श्नम्।) are इत् and are rejected. This exception, however, does not apply to the vibhakti अत् (in V. 3. 12 किमोऽत् or III. 4. 106, इटोऽत्). In those two sûtras the final त् of the vibhakti is इत्. The reason of this is, that the present sûtra is an anitya sûtra, *i. e.* a rule not of general application. In sûtra V. 3. 24, (इदमस्थमुः) we find, 'the word इदम् takes the vibhakti थमु in the sense of mode or manner.' As इद्+थमु=इत्थम्, 'in this manner.' Now थमु is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः), the उ is इत्, the real vibhakti is थम्. Now had the present sûtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this उ as indicatory letter, which has been evidently added to save the म् of थम् from becoming an इत्. This sûtra is consequently an antiya sûtra.

आदिर्ञिटुडवः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, ञि-टु-डवः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञि टु डु इत्येते तेषां समुदायानामादितो वर्त्तमानानामित्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

5. The initial ñi, ṭu, and ḍu are इत् ॥

The syllables ञि, टु and डु, standing at the beginning of a root are indicatory; as ञिमिदा 'to have affectionate pleasure.' The real root is मिद्, the ञि is servile. So टुनदि 'to rejoice; be glad' the real root being नद्. So डुदाञ् 'to give' the real root being दा.

The ञि shows that the past participle क्त has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (ञीतः क्तः). As ञिफला—फुल्लः 'blown'; ञिमिदा—मिन्नः 'fat'; ञिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold,' ञिक्ष्विदा—क्ष्विण्णः 'soft,' ञिइन्धी-इद्धः 'kindled.'

The टु subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix अथु to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 ट्वितोऽथुच्); as टुवेपृः—वेपथुः 'shaking'; टु ओश्वि—श्वयथुः 'swelling.'

The डु indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the affix त्रिम (III. 3. 88, ड्वितः क्त्रिः) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act

by which the substantive thing has been produced, as डुकृञ्—कृत्रिमम् 'artificial' डुपचष्—पक्त्रिमम् 'ripe'; डुवप्—उप्त्रिमम् 'sown.'

If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they are not indicatory; as पटूयति, कण्डूयति, &c.

षः प्रत्ययस्य, ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षः, प्रत्ययस्य (आदि इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारः प्रत्ययस्यादिरित्संज्ञो भवति ॥

6. The initial ष् of an affix is indicatory.

The initial ष् of an affix gets the name of इत् and is rejected. Thus by Rule III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिनि ष्वुन्) the affix ष्वुन् is added to a verb to indicate proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The ष् and न् are इत् and अक् takes the place of वु (VII. 1. 1, युवोरनाकौ). Thus नृत्+ष्वुन्=नर्त्+अक्=नर्तकः 'a dancer' (by profession); fem. नर्तकी (IV. 1. 41, षिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च 'words formed by affixes having an indicatory ष् take the affix ङीष् in the feminine'): so also रजकः, fem. रजकी.

The initial ष् of an affix only is इत् and not every initial ष्. Thus not in षोडः 'six,' or षडिकः॥ The ष् must be initial, therefore it is not इत् in the affix टिषच् in अविमह्योष्टिषच्, (Uṇ I. 45) as अविषः 'an ocean', महिषः 'a buffalo.'

चुटू ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चु-टू (प्रत्ययस्य आदिः, इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्ग टवर्गौ प्रत्ययस्यादी इत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

The consonants च्, छ्, ज्, झ्, ञ्, ट्, ठ्, ड्, ढ्, and ण्, are always इत् and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word 'affix' of the previous sûtra governs this also.

As the affix च्फञ् chapañ in sûtra (IV. 1. 98 गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च्फञ्). Here च् is indicatory, as, कौञ्जायन्यः॥ The initlal छ् chh of an affix is always replaced by ईय (VII. 1. 2 आयनेयीनीयियः फढखछघां प्रत्ययादीनाम्). The initial ज् of an affix is इत्. As, जस् (Nom. Pl. term) ब्राह्मणाः॥ The initial झ् of an affix is always replaced by अन्त, as भू+शप्+झि=भवन्ति॥ (VII. 1. 3 झोऽन्तः). The initial ञ् of an affix is इत् as in ञ्य which comes after the words शण्डिक &c. As शाण्डिक्यः (IV. 3. 92 शण्डिकादिभ्योञ्यः). The indicatory ञ् causes vṛiddhi by rules VII. 2. 115, 116 and 117: (अचोञ्णिति, अतउपधायाः, तद्धितेष्वचामादेः).

The initial ट् ṭ of an affix is इत् as in III. 2. 16 (चरेष्टः the root चर् takes the affix ट when compounded with a noun in the locative). As कुरुचरः 'who goes among the Kurus.' The feminines of words formed by this affix take ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 टिड्ढाणञ्द्वयसज् &c.) As कुरुचरी, मद्रचरी. The initial ठ् of an affix is always replaced by इक (VII. 3. 50 ठस्येकः). The initial ड् of an office is *it*, as in III. 2. 97 (सप्तम्यां जनेर्डः the root जन् takes the affix ड when in composition

with a word in the locative, as उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः. The ड् indicates that the final of the word called टि should be elided when an affix having indicatory ḍ is added. The initial ढ् of an affix is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2.)

The letter ण् is always an इत् when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4 85 (अन्नाण्णः) the affix ण comes after the word अन्न 'food.' As अन्न + ण = आन्नः. The ṇ causes Vriddhi.

This sûtra could very well have been included in the last aphorism. Why has it then been made a separate aphorism? The reply is that the present sûtra declares an anitya rule—that is to say, a rule which is not universally true. The initial palatal or lingual of every affix is not indicatory. Thus in the affixes चुञ्चुप् and चणप् the initial च् is not indicatory but forms part of the real affix. As विद्याचुंचुः विद्याचणः 'famous for one's learning.' See S. V. 2. 26. तेन वित्तश्चुञ्चुप् चणपौ. Similarly the initial ट of the affix टीटच् (V. 2. 31 अवात्कुटारच्च, नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां टीटञ् नाटज्भ्रटचः), is not *it*. As अवटीटम् 'flat nosed.'

Of course it is the initial palatal and lingual which are servile; if these letters occur in the middle of an affix, they will not be indicatory. As ठ of the affix अठच् is not indicatory in sûtra V. 2. 35 (कर्मणि घटोऽठच्) कर्मठः 'dexterous.'

लशक्वतद्धिते ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल-श-कु, अतद्धिते, (प्रत्ययस्य, आदिः इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितवर्जितस्य प्रत्ययस्यादितो वर्त्तमाना लकार शकार कवर्गा इत्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

8. The initial l and s′, and the gutturals of all affixes, except taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ल्, श्, क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ्, of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial ल् in ल्युट् is इत् (III. 3 115 ल्युट् च)। चि+ल्युट्= चयनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'collecting.' The initial श् in शप् is इत् (III. 1. 68. कर्तरि शप्) भू + शप् + तिप् = भो+अ+ति=भवति 'he is.' The initial क् is इत् as in क्त and क्तवतु (I. 1. 26), as भुक्तः 'eating' भुक्तवान्. The initial ख् is इत् as in खच् (III. 2. 38 प्रियवशे वदः खच् the word वद takes the affix *khach* when compounded with प्रिय and वश्) प्रियंवदः 'speaking kindly', वशंवदः 'submissive.' The initial ग् is इत् as in the affix ग्स्नु (III 2. 139 ग्लाजिस्थश्च ग्स्नुः), ग्लास्नुः 'languid', जिष्णुः 'victorious,' स्थास्नुः 'unmoveable.' The inital घ् is इत् as in घुरच् (III. 2. 161 भञ्जभासमिदो घुरच्) भञ्ज + घुरच् = भङ्गुरम् 'brittle.' The initial ङ् is इत्, as in ङसि (termination of the ablative sing.) ङस् ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1. 2), as सुमनस् + ङस् = सुमनस् + अस् = सुमनसः 'of a well minded.' In Taddhitta affixes however, these initials ल्, श् and gutturals are not इत्; and are therefore not elided. Thus चूडा + लच् = चूडालः (V. 2. 96. प्राणिस्थादातो लजन्यतरस्याम्) 'crested'; लोम+श

=लोमशः (V. 2. 100 लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलचः) 'hairy;' वृक्ष + कन् = वृक्षकः V. 3 81-86 जातिनाम्नः कन्) 'a small tree.'

तस्य लोपः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, लोपः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्संज्ञकस्य लोपो भवति ॥

9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called इत्), there is elision.

This sûtra declares the function of इत्; namely it is a mere indicatory letter, and must be rejected. It is useful only as a mnemonic and is not a part of the term.

The word tasya in the sûtra indicates that the substitution of lopa must be in the place of the *whole* term called इत्, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (see. I. 1, 52). Therefore, the whole of ञि, टु and डु is rejected and not only their finals.

यथा सङ्ख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा—सङ्ख्यम्, अनुदेशः, समानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानां समसंख्यानां समपरिपठितानामुद्देशिनामनुदेशिनां च यथा क्रममुद्देशिभिरनुदेशिनः सम्बन्ध्यन्ते ॥

10. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Thus sûtra III. 1 134 (नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः) declares—'the affixes ल्यु, णिनि and अच् are applied to नन्दि, ग्रहि and पच् class of words.' It means the affix ल्यु is applied to the words of नन्दि class, the affix णिनि to words of ग्रहि class, and अच् to words of पच् class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not hap-hazard. Similarly in VI. 1 77 इको यणचि (if a vowel follows) in the place of इ, उ, ऋ, ऌ there is यण् *i. e.*, य्, र्, ल्, व् ॥ So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड् ढक् छण् ढञ् यकः) where the four affixes ḍhak, chhaṇ ḍhañ, and yak are applied respectively to the words tûdî, s'alâtura, varmati and kûchavâra; *i. e.*, the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word, &c. As तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वार्मतेयः and कौचवार्य्यः ॥

Why do we say 'of equal members'? This rule will not apply if the number of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted are unequal. As in sûtra I. 4. 90, लक्षणेत्थम्भूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रति पर्यनवः for here the words lakshaṇa, &c., in the first part of

the sûtra are four in number, while the words prati &c. are only three. That sûtra therefore must be read as thus. "The words प्रति, परि and अनु are karma pravachanîya, whenever they indicate either lakshaṇa (a mark), itthambhutâ khyâna (a statement of mere circumstance) ; bhâga (division) ; or vipsâ (desire)."

स्वरितेनाधिकारः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितेन, अधिकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितो नाम स्वरविशेषो वर्णधर्म्मः तेन चिह्नेनाधिकारो वेदितव्यः ॥

11. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikâra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sûtras, there is any sûtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sûtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sûtras from the following.

As a rule, the sûtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sûtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sûtras must evidently have svarita as they are governing sûtras; प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1.) धातोः (III. 1. 91), अङ्गस्य (VI. 4. 1), भस्य (VI. 4 129).

अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात-ङ्-इतः आत्मनेपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तेतो य धातवो ङितश्च तेभ्य एव आत्मने पदं भवति नान्येभ्यः ॥

12. After a root which has an indicatory anudâtta vowel (anudâttet) or an indicatory ṅ (ṅit), the affixes are those of the Atmanepada.

The word 'atmanepada' here governs all the subsequent sûtras up to sû. 77 inclusive, and is understood in them all; and will not therefore be repeated. Thus of the verb आस the final अ is anudâtta and is इत्. It is therefore an âtmanepadi verb. As अस्ति. So षूङ्—सूते, शीङ्-शेते.

भावकर्मणोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-कर्मणोः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे कर्म्मणि चात्मनेपदम् भवति ॥

13. An atmanepada affix is the substitute of the affix ल (III. 4. 69) when it denotes the action of the verb or the object of the verb.

Sûtra III. 4. 69 declares the "letter ल (लट्, लिट् &c.,) is placed after transitive verbs in denoting the object also as well as the agent; and after intransitives in marking the condition (*i.e.*, the action itself which the verb imports) also as well as the agent." The Paras. and Atman. affixes would

have come, therefore, generally after all these verbs. The present sûtra restricts Atman. affixes to bhâva and karma verbs.

This is clear. Impersonal verbs and passive verbs as a rule are conjugated in the âtmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of भाव we have ग्लायते भवता 'you dislike' (lit. 'it is disliked by you'), सुप्यते भवता 'you sleep.' Similarly passive verbs as क्रियते कटः 'the mat is made'; ह्रियते भारः 'the load is carried.'

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices, *viz*, active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally parasmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्मकर्तरि are also âtmanepadi. Thus लूयते केदारः स्वयमेव 'the wood cuts of itself.' See sûtra 78.

कर्त्तरि कर्म व्यतिहारे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, कर्म-व्यतिहारे ॥ (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्म व्यतिहारे तद्विशिष्ट क्रिया वचनाद्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Atmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्तृवाच्य verbs when denoting reciprocal action are âtmanepadi. As, व्यतिपचन्ते, 'they cook for each other,' व्यतिलुनते 'he performs cutting of wood which was the appropriate office of another.'

The words "reciprocity or interchange of action" of this sûtra govern and are understood in the two following sûtras also.

The word karma in the sûtra means action and not the technical 'karma' meaning 'object' and the word vyatihâra means reciprocity or interchange. When an action which was appropriate to one person is performed by another, whose duty it was not, that is called 'interchange of action.' When such interchange is not meant Paras. is used. As लुनन्ति 'they cut.' The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

न गति हिंसार्थेभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गति-हिंसा-अर्थेभ्यः ॥ (आत्मनेपदम् कर्मव्यतिहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो हिंसार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः कर्म व्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिषेधो हसादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हरतेरप्रतिषेधः ॥

15. After verbs having the sense of 'motion,' or 'injury,' when expressing interchange of action, the Atmanepada affixes are not used.

This aphorism prohibits Atmanepada affixes in certain cases where by force of the last sûtra Atmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As व्यतिगच्छन्ति 'they go against each other,' व्यतिहिंसन्ति 'they injure each other.' व्यतिघ्नन्ति 'they fight together.'

The word 'not' of this sûtra is understood in the subsequent sûtra.

Vart.—This prohibition extends to the verbs हस् 'to laugh,' and the rest. As व्यतिहसन्ति, व्यतिजल्पन्ति, व्यतिपठन्ति ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be made of the verbs हरति 'to injure,' as संप्रहरन्ते राजानः ॥

इतरेतरान्योन्योपपदाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतर-इतर, अन्यः-अन्यः, उपपदात्, च, (कर्मव्य० आत्मने० न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरेतरोऽन्योन्य इत्येवमुपपदाद्धातोः कर्मव्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परस्परोपपदाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. And after the verbs which take the words itaretara 'each other,' and anyonya 'one another,' as upapada (or dependant qualifying words), the affixes of Atmanepada are not used, though reciprocity of action be denoted.

Thus इतरेतरस्य व्यति लुनन्ति 'they cut each other' अन्योन्यस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति 'they cut one another.'

Vart.—This rule must also be applied when the word परस्पर is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As परस्परस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति.

नेर्विशः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, विशः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परस्माद् विश आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

17. After the verb vis' 'to enter,' when preceded by the preposition ni, the Atmanepada affixes are employed.

As विशति 'he enters,' but निविशते 'he enters in.'

Even when the augment अट् of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the âtmanepada. As न्यविशत 'he entered in.'

The नि of the sûtra must be an upas'arga, because that has a sense, and not any नि. On this there is this paribhâshâ :—अर्थवद्ग्रहणेनानर्थकस्य "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning." Thus in मधुनि विशन्ति भ्रमराः 'the beetles enter the honey flowers.'

Here the नि is a part of the word मधुनि and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmaipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परिव्यवेभ्यः क्रियः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-वि-अवेभ्यः, क्रियः, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिव्यवेभ्य उत्तरात् क्रीणातेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

18. After the verb krî 'to purchase,' when preceded by pari, vi or ava, the Atmanepada affix is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb डुक्रीञ् 'to buy or barter,' has an indicatory ञ् and therefore, by sûtra 72 it will be Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sûtra, therefore, refers to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root क्री 'to buy' as a general rule takes the terminations of both padas, but when it is preceded by pari, vi, or ava, it is restricted to Atmanepada terminations, As परिक्रीणीते 'he buys'; विक्रीणीते 'he sells'; अवक्रीणीते 'he buys.'

The word pari, vi, and ava must be upasargas, therefore, in the following example, there is no Atmanepada termination, because the vi there is not a preposition but a noun, as, बहुविक्रीणाति वनम्.

विपराभ्यां जेः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपराभ्याम्, जेः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि परा पूर्वाज्जयतेर्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

19. After the verb ji 'to conquer,' preceded by vi or parâ, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This sûtra debars S. 78 by which the root जि is generally Parasmaipadi.

As विजयते 'he conquers', पराजयते 'he conquers.' The words vi and parâ must be upasargas (prepositions), for the application of this rule. In the following examples, they are used as substaintives बहुविजयति वनम्, पराजयति सेना ॥

आङो दोऽनास्य विहरणे ॥ २० ॥ पदानिः ॥ आङः, दः, अनास्य-विहरणे, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वाद्ददातेरनास्यविहरणे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आस्यविहरणसमानक्रियादपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ्ग कर्मकाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

20. After the verb dâ 'to give,' preceded by âṅ, and when not meaning 'to open the mouth,' the Atmanepada affix is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root दा is generally both Parasmaipadi and Atmanepadi (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition आ, it is restriced to the âtamanepadî. As विद्यामादत्ते 'he acquires knowledge.' But when it means "to widen the mouth" whether actually or metaphorically, it is parasmaipadi. As आस्यं व्याददाति. 'He expands his own mouth.'

Vart:—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As विपादिकां व्याददाति 'he opens the tumour.' कूलं व्याददाति नदी 'the river breaks the bank.'

Vart:—When the action does not affect the agents' own body the verb is âtmanepadi, as व्याददते पिपीलिकाः पतंगस्य मुखम्, 'the ants open the mouth of a locust.'

क्रीडोऽनुसंपरिभ्यश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीडः, अनु-सम्-परिभ्यः, च, (आङः, आत्मने प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीड् विहारे एतस्मात् अनुसम्परि इत्येवं पूर्वात् आङ् पूर्वाच्चात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ समोऽकूजने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आगमेः क्षमायामात्मने पदं वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शिक्षेर्जिज्ञासायाम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आशिषिनाथः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ हरतेर्गतताच्छील्ये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ किरतेर्हर्षजीविका कुलायकरणेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आङिनुप्रच्छ्योरुपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शप उपालम्भन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

21. After the verb krîḍ 'to play' preceded by anu, sam or pari, as well as âṅ, the Atmanepada affix is used.

The word "आङ्" is to be read into the sûtra by virtue of the conjunction च in the text. As आक्रीडते संक्रीडते अनुक्रीडते, or परिक्रीडते 'he plays.'

Vart.—When the verb क्रीड् compounded with सम् means to make a rattling or creaking noise,' it does not take âtmanepada terminations. As संक्रीडन्ति शकटानि 'the carts rattle or creak.' The word anu, pari &c., being taught along with sam, indicates that the upasargas anu, pari, &c., are to be taken and not the karmapravachanîya anu pari, &c. Therefore, when these prefixes are used as karmapravachanîya, they do not cause the verb क्रीड् to

take the âtmanepada terminations as माणवकमनुक्रीडति 'he plays in imitation of the boy.' For the definition and action of karmapravachanîya, see. I. 4. 83 and II. 3. 8.

Vart.—The verb आगम् takes the âtmanepada terminations when meaning 'to wait for', 'to overlook', 'to have patience', as, आगमयस्व तावत् माणवकम् । 'Have patience with the boy.'

Vart.—The verb शिक्ष takes âtmanepada terminations, when meaning 'to enquire':—as, विद्यासु शिक्षते 'he investigates sciences.

Vart.—The verb नाथ् when meaning 'to bless,' takes âtmanepada terminations, as, सर्पिषो नाथते 'he blesses with clarified butter.' मधुनो नाथते । Why do we say 'when meaning to bless'? Observe, माणवकमनुनाथति, 'he begs of Manavakâ.'

Vart.—The verb हरति takes âtmanepada terminations when meaning 'to take after the nature of the parents.' As पैतृकमश्वा अनुहरते 'the horses resemble their father.' मातृकं गावोऽनुहरन्ते 'the cows always imitate their mother.' But when not having this meaning, we have मातुरनुहरति 'he resembles his mother.'

Vart.--The verb किरति takes âtmanepada terminations when meaning 'to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.' As अपस्किरते वृषभो हृष्टः 'the happy bull scratches with joy.' अपस्किरते कुक्कुटो भक्षार्थी 'the cock scratches in search of food,' अपस्किरते श्वाऽऽश्रयार्थी 'the dog scratches to make his abode.' When not having these senses we have अपकिरति कुसुमम् 'he scatters about the flowers.' The dental स in apaskirate is added by sûtra VI. 1. 142. अपाच्चतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने ॥

Vart.—The verbs नु 'to cry' and प्रच्छ 'to ask' take the âtmanepada terminations when preceded by the preposition आङ्, as आनुते शृगालः 'the jackal howls,' आपृच्छते गुरूम् 'he questions the Guru.'

Vart.—The verb शप् when meaning 'to touch the body by the word' takes âtmanepada affixes. As देवदत्ताय शपते 'he promises by oath to Devadatta.' Otherwise we have शपति 'he curses.'

समवप्रविभ्यः स्थः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-अव-प्र-विभ्यः, स्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् अव प्र वि इत्येवं पूर्वात् तिष्ठते रात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङः स्थः प्रतिज्ञान इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. After the verb sthâ 'to stand,' preceded by sam, ava, pra, vi, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As संतिष्ठते 'he stays with,' अवतिष्ठते 'he waits patiently,' प्रतिष्ठते 'he sets forth,' वितिष्ठते 'he stands apart.'

Vart.—The verb स्था when preceded by आङ् and meaning 'solemn declaration' takes âtmanepada terminations; as अस्ति संस्कारमात्रमातिष्ठते ॥ Or to take another example, जलं विषं वा तव कारणादास्थास्ये 'for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison.'

प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययोश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकाशन-स्थेय-आख्ययोः, च, (स्था, आत्मने०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकाशने स्थेयाख्यायां च तिष्ठतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

23. After the verb sthâ when meaning 'to indicate one's intentions to another,' or 'to make an award as an arbitrator,' the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word prakâs'ana means disclosing one's intentions. The word stheyâkhya is a compound of stheya 'arbitrator; and âkhya 'name.'

As तिष्ठते जायापत्ये 'the wife expresses her wish to the husband;' त्वयि-तिष्ठते 'he refers to thee for settlement;' संशय्य कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते यः, 'who, when he is in doubt, has recourse to Karṇa as his judge or umpire.'

उदोऽनूर्ध्वकर्म्मणि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, अनूर्ध्व-कर्मणि, (स्था, आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत् पूर्वात् तिष्ठते रनूर्ध्वकर्म्मणि वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उद ईहायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. After the verb sthâ, preceded by ut, when not meaning 'to get up or rise,' as from a seat, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word 'karma' in this aphorism means 'action,' and does not mean the grammatical karma or 'object.'

As गेहे उत्तिष्ठते 'he strives for the house' so also कुटुम्बे उत्तिष्ठते ॥ But आसनादुत्तिष्ठति 'he rises up from the seat.'

Vart.—The force of the preposition ut must be to express ईहा, 'effort, exertion, wish or desire, to surprise or excell.' If this be not the force of ut, the terminations are those of the Parasmaipada. As अस्माद् ग्रामात् शतमुत्तिष्ठति 'a hundred is yielded by this village.' The word ईहा qualifies the word 'anûrdhakarmaṇi,' and does not debar the latter.

उपान्मन्त्रकरणे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् , मन्त्र-करणे , (स्था, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात्तिष्ठतेर्मन्त्रकरणेऽर्थेवर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपाद्देवपूजासंगति करणमित्री करणपथिष्विति वाच्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वा लिप्सायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

25. After the verb sthâ, preceded by upa, when meaning 'to adore,' the Atmanepada affix is used.

As ऐन्द्र्यागार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches with prayers or worships the Gârhapatya fire with aindra hymns.'

If it does not mean 'praising with hymns' the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the Parasmaipada, as भर्तारमुपतिष्ठति यौवनेन 'she approaches the husband through youth.'

Vart.—The verb स्था after the preposition उप takes the terminations of the âtmanepada when meaning 'worshipping a deity,' 'to approach for intercourse or uniting or joining,' 'to form friendship with,' and 'to lead to as a way.' Thus:—1st Deva pujâ आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he worships the Aditya.' 2. Sangati karaṇa पतिमुपतिष्ठते नारी 'the wife approaches the husband,' रथिकानुपतिष्ठते 'forms union with charioteers.' 3. Mitrî karaṇa सन्तमुपतिष्ठते साधुः 'the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.' What is the difference between Sangati-karaṇa and Mitri-karana? Sangati-karana means drawing near and approaching together in space, as गंगायमुनामुपतिष्ठते 'the Ganges joins the Jumna.' While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact. 4. Patha:—अयं पन्थाः स्रुघ्नमुपतिष्ठते 'this road leads to Srughna.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the Atmanepada is optional when the sense is 'desire of getting.' As भिक्षुको ब्राह्मणकुलमुपतिष्ठते or उपतिष्ठति 'a beggar waits at the place of a Brahmaṇa with the desire of getting something.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च, (उपस्था आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात् तिष्ठतेरकर्मकादकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

26. After the verb sthâ, preceded by upa, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As भोजनकाले उपतिष्ठते 'he stands ready at the time of dinner,' यावद्भुक्तमुपतिष्ठते 'he is present whenever it is dinner time,' यावदोदनमुपतिष्ठते 'he is present whenever there is food, that is he comes at the time of dinner.' The word bhukta is formed by adding the affix kta to the root, and has the force of condition' here.

The phrase 'when used in the Intransitive' governs the three succeeding sûtras also.

If it is transitive; the verb upasthâ takes the parasmaipada terminations. As राजानमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches the king.'

उद्विभ्यां तपः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्-विभ्याम्, तपः, (अकर्मकात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् विइत्येवं पूर्वात् तपतेरकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ्ग कर्म्मकाच्चेति वाच्यम् ॥

27. After the verb tapa 'to shine,' when used intransitively, and preceded by ut or vi, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

As उत्तपते or वितपते विद्यया विद्यार्थी 'The scholar shines with knowledge.' But in transitive verbs, it is Parasmaipadi. As उत्तपति सुवर्णंसुवर्णकारः 'the goldsmith heats the gold,' वितपति पृष्ठं सविता 'the sun heats the back.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the terminations are of the âtmanepada, though the verb ut-tapa or vi-tapa be transitive, when the object is some limb of one's own body. As उत्तपते पाणिम् or वितपते पाणिम् or पृष्ठं 'he heats his own hand or back.' The word स्वाङ्ग means one's own body and not the pâribhâshika or the technical स्वाङ्ग meaning "a thing which not being liquid or gaseous and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being and though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being." (See IV. 1. 54. स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात्). Therefore not so in the following देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य पृष्ठमुत्तपति 'Devadatta heats the back of Yajñadatta.' When the preposition is other than ut or vi, parasmaipada affix is employed; as, निष्टपति.

आङोयमहनः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यम-हनः, (अकर्मकात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम उपरमे, हन हिंसागत्योः । ताभ्यामकर्मकक्रिया वचनाभ्यामाङ् पूर्वाभ्यामात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

28. After the verb yam 'to stop,' and han 'to injure' when used intransitively and preceded by âṅ, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word intransitive of s. 26 is understood here also. Both these verbs are generally parasmaipadi. When they take the affix आ they become âtmanepadi. Yam belongs to Bhvâdi class; and han to Adâdi class. Thus आ+यम्+शप्+ते=आ+यच्छ+अते (VII. 3. 77 इषुगमियमां छः 'chh is the substitute of the finals of ish, gam and yam, when an affix having an indicatory श् follows) =आयच्छते 'it spreads.' आयच्छेते and आयच्छन्ते; so also आ+हन्+ते=आ+ह+ते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37) अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि क्ङिति = आहते, 'he strikes.' आ=हन्+आते=आ+हन्+आते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 98 सार्वधातुकमपित् गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङि त्यनङि) = आघ्नाते (VII. 3. 54), (हो हन्तेर्ञ्णिन्नेषु) Pl. आघ्नते.

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as आयच्छति कूपाद्रज्जुम् 'he draws up the rope from the well,' आहन्ति वृषलं पादेन 'they kill the sinner with the foot.'

Vart.—When the object is some member of the agent's own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As आयच्छते पाणिम् 'he puts forth his own hand.' आहते शिरं 'he hurts his own head.' When the object is some limb of another's body, the terminations are of the Parasmaipada, as आहन्ति शिरः परकीयं 'they hurt others' head.'

समोगमृच्छिप्रच्छिस्वरत्यर्तिश्रुविदिभ्यः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, गमि-ऋच्छि-प्रच्छि-स्वरति-अर्त्ति-श्रु-विदिभ्यः (अकर्म० आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वेभ्यो गमि ऋच्छि प्रच्छि स्वरति अर्तिश्रुविदिइत्येतेभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृशेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. After the verbs gam 'to go,' richchh 'to become hard,' prachchh 'to ask,' svar 'to find fault,' ri 'to go,' s'rû 'to hear,' and vid 'to know,' when used intransitively and preceded by sam, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The above seven verbs when preceded by the preposition सम् and used in the intransitive, take the terminations of the Atmanepada. As संगच्छते (VII. 3. 77) 'he joins,' समृच्छते 'he becomes hard or goes.' संपृच्छते 'he asks,' संस्वरते 'he blames,' समरन्त 'they are attained.' In the case of this last verb which belongs both to Bhvâdi and Juhutyâdi classes it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As सम्+ऋ+अङ्+त (III. 1. 56 सर्तिशास्त्यर्तिभ्यश्च) = समृत, as मा समृत (VI. 4. 75 बहुलंछन्दस्यमाङ्योगेऽपि) सम् + ऋ + अङ् + अन्त = समरन्त (VII. 4. 16 ऋदृशोऽङिगुणः). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb विद् must have the meaning of 'to know,' and not that of 'to acquire.' संशृणुते 'he hears,' संवित्ते 'he knows.'

Vart.—The root दृश् (to see) after the preposition सम् when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as संपश्यते 'he sees.' But when transitive, it takes Parasmaipada terminations as ग्रामम् संपश्यति 'he sees the town.'

निसमुपविभ्यो ह्वः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-सम्-उप-विभ्यः, ह्वः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि सम उप वि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ह्वयतेर्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥उपसर्गादस्यत्यूह्योर्वा वचनम् ॥

30. After the verbs hve 'to call,' preceded by ni, sam, upa, and vi, the Atmanepada is used, even, when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb ह्वे: 'to call' whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepadî after the above prepositions. The condition of being Intransitive does not apply to this sûtra, and from this sûtra forward general rules of Atmanepada are treated of. As निह्वयते, संह्वयते, उपह्वयते ॥

The verb ह्वे is marked in the Dhâtupâtha with a ञ् and therefore by sûtra 72 of this Chapter, it will take the terminations of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. But even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the verb hve takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

Vart.—The verbs अस् 'to throw' and ऊह् 'to note' take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As निरस्यति—०ते 'he casts out,' समूहति—०ते 'he collects.'

स्पर्द्धायामाङः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पर्द्धायाम्, आङः, (ह्वः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पर्द्धायां विषये आङ् पूर्वाद् ह्वयतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

31. After the verb hve, when meaning 'to challenge' and preceded by âṅ, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As मल्लो मल्लमाह्वयते 'an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to conquer him)'; छात्रश्छात्रमाह्वयते 'one student emulates with another student.'

This sûtra is also for the purpose of showing that the root hve takes the Atmanepada termintaions even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word spardhâ means to emulate, to vie, to desire, to conquer another. When the verb hve has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasmaipada. As गामाह्वयति गोपालः 'the cowherd calls the cows.'

गन्धनावक्षेपणसेवनसाहसिक्यप्रतियत्नप्रकथनोपयोगेषु कृञः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गन्धन-अवक्षेपण-सेवन-साहसिक्य-प्रतियत्न-प्रकथन-उपयोगेषु, कृञः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गन्धनादिष्वर्थेषु वर्त्तमानात् करोतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

32. After the verb kṛi when meaning 'to divulge,' 'to revile,' 'to serve,' 'to use violence,' 'to cause change,' 'to recite,' and 'to do an act tending to effect a desired purpose,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb कृञ् by sûtra 72 would take the affixes of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This sûtra has been begun to show that this verb takes the Atmanepada terminations under certain circumstances even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word gandhana comes from the root gandh 'to injure,' of churâdi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakshepana means 'to revile', 'to over-come,' sevana means 'to obey and serve,' sâhasikya means 'an act of violence,' pratiyatna means, 'imparting a new quality or virtue,' prakathana means 'to narrate fully,' upayoga means 'the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.'

Thus उत्कुरुते. उदाकुरुते means he informs against ; (2) श्येनो वर्तिकामुदाकुरुते 'the hawk overcomes or reviles a snail,' (3) गणिकानुपकुरुते 'he serves the prostitutes,' महामात्राननुकुरुते 'he serves the mahamatra,' (4) परदारान् प्रकुरुते 'he outrages another's wife,' (5) एधोदकस्योपस्कुरुते 'the fuel gives a new quality (boils) to the water (or he prepares the wood and water for a sacrifice).' The object of the verb kṛi takes the affix of the sixth case *i. e.* genitive, only when the verb means pratiyatna, see S. II. 3. 53 (कृञः प्रतियत्ने) । Therefore udakasya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment सुट् only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyatna, see VI. 1. 139. (उपात् प्रतियत्न वैकृत वाक्याध्याहारेषु) ॥ Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute. (5) गाथाः प्रकुरुते 'he recites stories,' जनापवादान् प्रकुरुते 'he recites slander,' (6) शतं प्रकुरुते 'he devotes a hundred' pieces of money, for the sake of merit. सहस्रं प्रकुरुते 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why do we say in these senses? Witness कटं करोति 'he makes a mat.' In this case the âtmanepada affix is not employed.

The verb kṛi is understood in the three succeeding sûtras.

अधेः प्रसहने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, प्रसहने, (कृञः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि पूर्वात् करोतेः प्रसहने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

33. After the verb kṛi preceded by adhi, when the sense is that of 'overcoming or defeat,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sûtra is commenced to show that kṛi may take the âtmanepada affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasahana means 'to overcome, to be not defeated.' As तमधिचक्रे 'he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.'

Why do we say, 'in the sense of to overcome?' Witness अर्थमधिकरोति 'he le[illegible]an[illegible]g' in which example the âtmanepada affix is not employed.

The necessity of making a separate sûtra of this rule, instead of including it in the last aphorism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

वेः शब्दकर्म्मणः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, शब्द कर्म्मणः, (कृञः आ॰ प॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले शब्दकर्म्मण आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

34. After the verb kṛi preceded by vi, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when əsuəs əqʇ is that of 'making sound,' (literally, having 'sound' for its object) the Atmanepada is employed.

The word karma in the sûtra indicates objective case or kâraka ; and does not express 'action,' as in some previous sûtras such as 24 ante.

As क्रोष्टा विकुरुते स्वरान् 'the birds are making noise,' ध्वांक्षो विकुरुते स्वरान् ॥

The word वि governs the succeeding sûtra.

Why do we say "when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case"? Witness चित्तं विकरोति कामः 'love affects the mind.'

अकर्म्मकाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्म्मकात्, च, (कृञः आ॰ प॰ वेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्मकात्कर्म्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

35. After the verb kṛi preceded by vi, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As विकुर्व्वन्ते सैन्धवा 'the horses move gracefully,' ओदनस्य पूर्णाश्छात्रा विकुर्वते 'the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.'

संमाननोत्सञ्जनाचार्यकरणज्ञानभृतिविगणनव्ययेषु नियः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संमानन-उत्सञ्जन-आचार्यकरण-ज्ञान-भृति-विगणन-व्ययेषु , नियः , (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णीञ् . प्रापणे इत्येतस्माद्धातोकर्त्रभिप्रायेक्रियाफलेरात्मनेपदं भवति, सम्माननादिषु विशेषणेषु सत्सु ॥

36. After the verb nî 'to lead,' when used in the sense of 'to guide so as to render the person guided worthy,' 'to lift up,' 'to make one a spiritual guide,' 'to determine the true sense,' 'to employ on wages,'

'to pay as debt,' and 'to give as in charity,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the Atmanepada is used.

This sûtra is begun in order to show that the verb नी may take the terminations of the Atmanepada, even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, in the following cases, *viz*, when it means to 'respect' &c.

Sammânana means to respect; as नयते चार्वी लोकायते 'the Chârvi gives instruction in the Lokâyata s'astra.' The word chârvi primarily means intelligence, and by secondry use it has been extended to the preceptor also; such a preceptor gives instruttion, in Lokâyata Sastra, that is to say, having established the truth of the doctrines of that philosophy by argumentation, imparts them to the pupils. Those doctrines being thus established by reason, become respected (Sanmânitâ) and honored.

Utsañjana, 'to throw up, or lift up,' as माणवकमुदानयते 'he lifts up Manavaka.'

Achârya-karaṇa 'acting as a teacher,' that is to say, to bring a boy near oneself in such a way, that being so brought near (upa-neta), he may himself become an âchârya. As माणवकमुपनयते 'he initiates Manavaka (*i. e.*, making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.')

Jñâna means 'knowledge, a demonstrated verity.' As नयते चार्वी लोकायते 'the Chârvî investigates the truth of the Lokâyata doctrine.'

Bhṛiti means 'wages.' As कर्मकारानुपनयते 'he employs the servants on hire or wages.'

Vigaṇana means the paying off as a tribute, debts &c. As मद्रा करं विनयन्ते, 'the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.'

Vyaya means 'allotment of money on works of merit &c.' As शतं विनयते 'he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.' सहस्रं विनयते 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness अजां नयति ग्रामम् 'he carries the goat to the village.' Here there is no Atmnepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

कर्तृस्थे चाशरीरे कर्म्मणि ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृस्थे, च, अशरीरे, कर्म्मणि, (नियः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नयतेः कर्त्तरि स्थे त्वादिर्लकारवाच्यः कर्तृस्थे कर्म्मण्यशरीरे सति नयतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

37. After the verb nî, when it governs an incorporeal object existing in the agent, as its object, the Atmanepada is used.

The verb नी is Atmanepadi when governing an object which has no material body, but is an abstract noun, that is an object which has abstract but no concrete existence; and when such an object has its seat in a portion of the agent of the verb. As क्रोधं विनयते 'he subdues his own anger,' मन्युं विनयते 'he suppresses anger.'

The word s'arîra means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called s'arîra.

The object must reside in the agent, (kartṛistha), otherwise the verb will be parasmaipadi. As देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य क्रोधं विनयति 'Devadatta removes Yajnadatta's anger.'

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As गड्डुं विनयति 'he removes his own wort.' घाटां विनयति 'he bows his neck.'

Why do we say 'in the case of an object?' Witness बुद्ध्या विनयति 'he is submissive through knowledge,' प्रज्ञया विनयति. Here the verb विनयति has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु क्रमः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्ति-सर्ग-तायनेषु, क्रमः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु क्रमेर्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

38. After the verb kram 'to move' when used, in the senses of 'continuity,' 'energy' and 'development,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The word 'kram' governs the succeeding sûtras up to 43 and is understood in them all.

The verb kram by sûtra I. 3. 78 (after the rest, let the parasmaipada affixes be employed in marking the agent), would have taken the affixes of the parasmaipada; the present aphorism enjoins Atmanepada affixes in certain cases when the verb means to have a taste for &c.

Vṛitti 'continuity' means unobstructed, or want of interruption (*i. e.*, a taste for, or facility in, anything), sarga 'energy' means application, resolution and determination. Tâyana 'development' means increase and growth.

As (1) ऋक्ष्वस्य क्रमते बुद्धिः—'his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures *i. e.*, he can easily comprehend the Rig.' (2). व्याकरणाध्ययनाय क्रमते 'the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.' (3). अस्मिन शास्त्राणि क्रमन्ते 'the shastras are developed in him.'

Why in these senses only? Witness अपक्रामति 'he runs away.'

उपपराभ्याम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-पराभ्याम्, (वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषुक्रमः आः प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपरापूर्वात् क्रमतेर्वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

39. After the verb kram, preceded by upa and para, when used in the senses of continuity, energy and development, the Atmanepada is employed.

The words vṛitti &c., of the last sûtra are understood here also. Why has this been made a separate sûtra and not included in the last ? The reason is to make a restrictive rule in the cases of upasargas ; that is to say, only in the cases of the upasargas upa and parâ, there is âtmanepada affix ; but not so when any other upasarga precedes the verb kram, though the sense may be of continuity &c. Thus उपक्रमते 'he commences to advance,' पराक्रमते 'he marches to attack.'

Why do we say after the upasargas 'upa and parâ'? Because, after any other preposition the affix will be of the parsmaipada ; as संक्रामति 'he makes progress.' If the sense is not that of "continuity" &c., parasmaipada will be employed, as उपक्रामति, पराक्रामति.

आङउद्गमने ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, उद्गमने (क्रमः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वात् क्रमते रुद्गमने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ज्योतिरुद्गमने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. After the verb kram, preceded by áṅ, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As आक्रमते सूर्यः 'the sun rises.' आक्रमते चन्द्रमाः 'the moon rises,' आक्रमन्त ज्योतींषि 'the stars rise.'

Vart.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in आक्रामति धूमोहर्म्यतलात्, 'the smoke rises from the surface of the terrace,' the verb क्रम is parasmaipadi. Why do we say in the sense of "to ascend"? Witness आक्रमति माणवकः कुतपम् 'the boy assails the ox.'

वेः पादविहरणे ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, पाद-विहरणे, (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात् क्रमतेः पादविहरणेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of 'placing of foot-steps.'

As वाजी विक्रमते 'the horse is pacing.' The term vikramaṇa is applied to the special movements of horse &c.

Though in the Dhâtupâṭha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb क्रमि and क्रमु have the meanings of pâda-viharaṇa and pâda-vikshepa, that is "throwing or placing of foot," and so it might be objected that the present sûtra is a useless repetition, yet as verbs have various other meanings than what is assigned to them in the dhâtupaṭha, the present sûtra is not unnecessary.

Why do we say "in the sense of throwing of foot"? In any other sense, the terminations will be those of the parasmaipada. As विक्रामति अजिनसन्धिः 'the fold of the antilope skin is ruptured.'

प्रोपाभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-उपाभ्याम्, समर्थाभ्याम्, (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येताभ्यां परस्मात् क्रमतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

42. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is employed when it is preceded by pra and upa, both conveying the same sense; viz. that of "beginning an action."

As प्रक्रमते भोक्तुम्, उपक्रमते भोक्तुम् 'he commences to eat' &c.

The prefixes pra and upa are synonyms, when they denote the commencement of an action

Why do we say, "when they are synonyms." Witness the following पूर्वेद्युः प्रक्रामति अपरेद्युरुपक्रामति 'he goes during the first part of the day and he comes back during the latter part of the day.' Here in one case the sense is "to go," in another it means "to return."

Why in the latter case of 'aparedyur upakrâmati' there is not Atmanepada by virtue of sûtra 39 ante, as there is the upasarga upa here? The answer is that Rule 39 is not applicable, as that rule is limited by the condition of the sense of 'continuity' &c. while in the present sûtra, that limitation is not applicable.

अनुपसर्गाद्वा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-उपसर्गात्, वा (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग वियुक्तात् क्रमतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

43. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is optionally employed, when it is not preceded by any preposition.

The root 'kram' may always be conjugated as Atmanepadi when not having any upasarga. The upasarga will be defined in I. 4. 59. The option allowed by this sûtra is an example of what is technically known as aprâpta vibhâsâ *viz.*, an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.

Examples: क्रमते or क्रामति 'he goes over.' Why do we say 'when it is without any preposition?' For no option is allowed when it takes preposition. As संक्रामति.

अपह्नवे ज्ञः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि अपह्नवे:, ज्ञः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरपह्नवे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

44. After the verb jña, when used in the sense of 'denying,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The root jña which ordinarily means 'to know' and is parasmaipadi by rule 78, becomes Atmanepadi when through the virtue of any prefix it means 'to deceive:' as अपजानीते 'he deceives,' शतमपजानीते 'he denies the debt of a hundred rupees,' सहस्रमपजानीते 'denies a thousand.'

Why do we say when meaning "to deny?" Observe:— न त्वं किंचिदपि जानासि 'thou knowest not anything.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च (ज्ञः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरकर्मकाद कर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

45. And when used intransitively, after the verb jña, the Atmanepada is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As सर्पिषो जानीते मधुनो जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter or honey.' (See II. 3. 51).

This Atmanepadi form of jña is employed when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. From sûtra 76 it will be seen that when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the verb is Atmanepadi.

How in the above example the verb jña is intransitive? Because the word sarpiḥ is not the object of knowledge, but it is an instrument of sacrifice, into which one engages from complete knowledge (jñâna); and it (sarpishaḥ) is in the genitive case by virtue of II. 3. 51 (ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे) by which the instrumental kâraka of the jña is put in the genitive case.

Why do we say of "Intransitive"? Because in the transitive it is parasmaipadi, as स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he knows (recognizes) the son by his voice.'

संप्रतिभ्यामनाध्याने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-प्रतिभ्याम् अन्-आध्याने, (ज्ञः आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रतिइत्येवं पूर्वाज्जानातेरनाध्याने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

46. After the verb jña, preceded by sam, and prati, the Atmanepada is employed, when not used in the sense of "remembering with regret."

The word jña is understood in this sûtra: and the aphorism applies to that jña which is used in the transitive. As शतं संजानीते 'he looks for a hundred,' So सहस्रं प्रतिजानीते 'he promises a thousand.'

Why do we say when 'not meaning remembering with regret?' Because it is not Atmanepadi, when it conveys that meaning. Thus मातुः संजानाति 'he remembers with regret his mother,' पितुः संजानाति ॥

भासनोपसंभाषाज्ञानयत्नविमत्युपमन्त्रणेषु वदः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भासन-उपसंभाषा-ज्ञान-यत्न-विमति-उपमन्त्रणेषु, वदः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भासनादिषु विशेषणेषु सत्सु वदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

47. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the senses of "showing brilliance, or proficiency in," "pacifying," "knowledge," "effort," "difference of opinion," and "flattering."

By sûtra 78, vad generally takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. By the present sûtra, it takes also the affixes of the Atmanepada when having certain meanings.

Bhâsana, (shining) means to illumine as वदते चार्वी लोकायते. The chârvi illumines the Lokayat shastras, by his discourses and clear exposition.

Upasambhâshâ (persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate, as कर्मकरानुपवदते 'he conciliates or cajoles the servants.'

Jñâna (knowledge) means to know completely, as वदते चार्वी लोकायते 'the chârvi knows completely to discourse upon Lokayat shastra.'

Yatna (endeavour) means energy, as क्षेत्रे वदते 'He toils in the field,' गेहे वदते 'he toils in the house.'

Vimati (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimus opinion As क्षेत्रे विवदन्ते, 'they disagree over the field,' *i. e.*, holding different opinions they talk diversely.

Upamantrana (enticing) means to coax in secret, as, कुलभार्यामुपवदते 'he entices the wife of a respectable family (*i. e.*, seduces her in secret),' परदारानुपवदते 'he flatters another's wife.'

Why in the above senses only? See यत् किंचिद्वदति 'he says something'.

व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यक्तवाचाम्, सम्-उच्चारणे, (वदः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणं सहोच्चारणं तत्रवर्त्तमानाद्वदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

48. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed when used in the sense of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः 'the Brâhmaṇas are speaking.' But in संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः 'the cocks are crowing' it is properly Parasmaipadi.

The sense of the sûtra is that when men, who are only capable of articulate speech, speak all in one and the same time, then the verb vad takes the affix of the Atmanepada. When lower animals make a chorus of noise, the verb does not take the Atmanepada.

There must be samuchchâraṇa for the application of this rule; when there is no samuchchâraṇa or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply, as ब्राह्मणो वदति 'the Brâhmaṇa speaks.'

अनोरकर्मकात् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनोः, अकर्मकात्, (वदः, आ० प०) व्यक्तवाचां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाद्वदतेरकर्म्मकाद्व्यक्तवाग्विषयादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

49. After the verb vad, preceded by anu when it is intransitively used, the Atmanepada is employed, when the sense is that of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As अनुवदते कठः कलापस्य kaṭha is echoing or imitates kalâpa. He reutters exactly what the kalâpa-reader or the teacher says. The word anu here means similarly.

Why do we say 'in the Intransitive'? Because when it is used in the transitive it takes the affixes of the Parasmaipada. As पूर्वमेव यजुरुदितमनुवदति, 'he repeats the yajurveda which he had learned before.'

The words 'uttering of articulate speech' are understood here also. Otherwise अनुवदति वीणा 'the lute resounds,' here it is Parasmaipada.

विभाषा विप्रलापे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विप्रलापे, (वदः आ० प० व्यक्तवाचां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रलापात्मके व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे वर्त्तमानाद्वदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति विभाषा ॥

50. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed optionally, when the sense is that of "contradicting each other."

As विप्रवदन्ते or न्ति वैद्याः (the doctors are at variance). The words vyaktavâchâm (articulate utterance) and samuchchâraṇa (speaking together) are understood in this sûtra also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as, संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brâhmanas are speaking together.'

The phrase 'articulate utterance' is necessary in this also. Because as विप्रवदन्ति शकुनयः 'the kites are quarrelling,' the verb is in the Parasmaipada.

The wrangling must be by talking at one and the same time, otherwise this rule will not apply. As क्रमेण वैद्या वैद्येन सह विप्रवदन्ति, 'the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.'

अवाद्ग्रः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवात् , ग्रः , (आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाद् गिरतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

51. After the verb gṛî 'to swallow,' when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As अवगिरते (he swallows). The root gṛî to swallow preceded by the preposition ava is Atmanepadi. The verb gṛî taken in this sûtra means to swallow and belongs to the Tudâdi class. It is not the gṛî 'to make sound' which belongs to the kryâdi class, because there is no word formed with the latter verb by affixing the preposition ava to it. By sûtra 78 this verb gṛî 'to swallow' would have been Parasmaipadi; the present sûtra debars that.

When it is not preceded by ava, it is Parasmaipadi, as गिरति 'he swallows.'

समः प्रतिज्ञाने ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , प्रतिज्ञाने , (ग्रः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाद् गिरतेः प्रतिज्ञाने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

52. After the verb gṛî preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is used, when employed in the sense of 'promising.'

As शतं संगिरते, 'he promises to pay a hundred rupees.' If it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As संगिरति ग्रासम्, 'he swallows the mouthful.'

उदश्चरः सकर्मकात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः , चरः , सकर्मकात् ॥ (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वाच्चरतेः सकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

53. After the verb char 'to walk' preceded by ut, when used transitively, the Atmanepada is employed.

As गेहमुच्चरते 'he strays away from home;' गुरुवचनमुच्चरते 'he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.'

Why do we say "when used in the transitive"? Observe बाष्पमुच्चरति 'the vapour is rising.' Here it is parasmaipadi.

समस्तृतीयायुक्तात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , तृतीया- युक्तात् , (चरः आ प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्चरतेस्तृतीयायुक्तादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

54. After the verb char, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed.

As अश्वेन संचरते 'he rides on the horse-back.'

The rule does not apply when it is not in composition with a word in the instrumental case. As उभौ लोकौ संचरसि इमं चामुं च देवल ! 'O Devala! thou wanderest through both regions, this and that.' Here though the sense of the Instrumental case is implied, yet as it is not expressly stated, we use the parasmaipada terminations.

दाणश्च सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाणः, च, सा, चेत्, चतुर्थी-अर्थे, (समस्तृ० यु० चरः आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ दाणदाने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वाद् तृतीयायुक्तादात्मनेपदं भवति साचेत् तृतीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अशिष्टव्यवहारे तृतीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

55. And after the verb dâ to give, preceded by sam, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed, provided this Instrumental case have the sense of the Dative case.

When is the 3rd case used with the force of the 4th case? That is answered by the following.

Vart:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative when immoral conduct is implied. As दास्या or वृषल्या संप्रयच्छते 'he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute.'

The verb dâ to give is generally parasmaipadi, it becomes âtmanepadi under the above conditions.

Why do we say "when it has the force of the dative case"? Because when it has not the sense of the dative, parasmaipada terminations will be used, as पाणिना संप्रयच्छति, 'he gives with his hand.'

It might be asked how the âtmanepada terminations are employed when the preposition sam is not directly applied to the verb, but another preposition pra, intervenes between sam and the verb. The reply is that the word samah in sûtra 54 is not in the ablative case (which would have required its being placed immediately before the verb), but it is in the genitive case, and is used as an attribute.

उपाद्यमः स्वकरणे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, यमः, स्वकरणे, (आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्यमः स्वकरणे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

56. After the verb yam, to give, preceded by upa, when used in the sense of "espousing," the Atmanepada is employed.

This is clear. As भार्यामुपयच्छते 'he espouses or knows his wife.' But not so when another's wife is meant; there it is parasmaipadi.

By rule 78, the verb yam would have been parasmaipadi, but the present sûtra makes an exception, when the root takes the preposition upa and means "to marry, to espouse, or to accept." The meaning of *sva-karana* is confined to accepting in general. This is according to Kâsika; according to Mahâbhâshya, sva-karana means to make one's own what was not previously his own.

Why do we say in the sense of "marrying"? When it has any other sense, prasmaipada affixes will be employed, as देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य भार्यामुपयच्छति, 'Devadatta has illicit intercourse with the wife of Yajñadatta.'

ज्ञाश्रुस्मृदृशां सनः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा-श्रु-स्मृ-दृशाम्, सनः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञा श्रु स्मृ दृश् इत्येतेषां सन्नन्तानामात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

57. After the Desideratives formed by the affix san, of the verbs jñâ to know, s'ru to hear, smṛi to remember, and dṛis' to see, the Atmanepada is employed.

The above four roots are âtmanepadi when in the Desiderative form, the suffix "san" being the pratyaya by which desideratives are formed.

The verb jñâ takes the terminations of the âtmanepada when used in the senses indicated by the three sûtras 44, 45 and 46 already explained. The desiderative form of jñâ would *ex necessitate* take âtmanepada affixes when used in the above senses: see Rule 62. The present sûtra however enlarges the scope of âtmanepada, by declaring all desideratives of jñâ to be âtmanepada, in whatever sense they may be used.

Similarly by sûtra 29 ante and the vârtika under it, the roots s'ru, and dṛis' take the terminations of the âtmanepada; when preceded by sam, the desideratives of those would of course have taken âtmanepada affixes by 62, but the present sûtra makes it general.

The present sûtra however enunciates a new rule in the case of the root smṛi.

As धर्मं जिज्ञासते 'he wishes to know (*i.e.* enquires after) religion,' गुरुं शुश्रूषते 'he serves the teacher,' नष्टं सुस्मूर्षते 'he wishes to remember the lost.' नृपं दिदृक्षते 'he wishes to see the king.'

Why do we say, when taking the affix san? Because the primitive verbs will take the parasmaipada terminations as जानाति 'he knows;' शृणोति 'he hears,' स्मरति 'he remembers' पश्यति 'he sees.'

नानोर्ज्ञः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अनोः , ज्ञः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाज्जानातेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

58. After the desiderative of jñâ when preceded by anu the Atmanepada is not employed.

This is an exception to the last sûtra. The desiderative of jñâ with the prefix anu is not âtmanepadi.

This sûtra read with sûtra 45 limits the scope of parasmaipada to the transitive, desiderative verb anu-jñâ. As पुत्रमनुजिज्ञासति 'he enquires after the son.'

Why do we say when preceded by anu? Because otherwise it will take the âtmanepada terminations. As धर्म्मम् जिज्ञासते 'he inquires after religion.'

प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्भ्याम् , श्रुवः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वाच्छ्रृणोतेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

59. After the desideratives of s'ru when preceded by prati and âṅ the Atmanepada is not used.

The verb s'ru when taking the prefixes prati and âṅ, is not âtmanepadi, though taking the desiderative "san." This is also an exception to the rule of sûtra 57. Thus प्रतिशुश्रूषति and आशुश्रूषति ॥

The word prati and âṅ must be upasargas; if they are used as karmapravachaniyas (see 1. 4.—83) then the rule will not apply, as देवदत्तं प्रतिशुश्रूषते ॥

शदेः शितः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः , शितः , (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शदिर्यः शिङ्गावीशितो वा सम्बन्धी तस्मादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

60. After the verb s'ad to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicatory s' (s'it) the Atmanepada is used.

The root 'sad' when taking any affix which is marked with an indicatory श, is conjugated in the âtmanepadi. In connection with this must be read sûtra VII. 3. 78. पाघ्राध्मास्थाम्नादाण्दृश्यर्त्तिसर्तिशदसदांपिबजिघ्रधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपश्यर्च्छधौशीयसीदाः by which the root शद् is replaced by शीय before the affixes having an indicatory श. Thus शद् + श + ते = शीय + अते = शीयते 'he decays or withers,' शीयेते 'they two decay,' शीयन्ते 'they decay,'

Why do we say before affixes having an indicatory श? Before other affixes it is not âtmanepadi. As अशात्स्यत् 'if he decayed,' शत्स्यति 'he will decay,' शिशत्सति.

The well-known vikaranas like शप्, श &c., the affixes like शतृ &c., are शित् affixes. In other words the root s'ad is âtmanepadi in all conjugational tenses.

म्रियतेर्लुङ्लिङोश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ म्रियते , लुङ्-लिङोः , च (शितः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ म्रियतेर्लुङ्लिङोः शितश्चात्मनेपदं भवति अन्यत्र न भवति ॥

61. After the verb mṛi to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicatory श, as well as when it takes the affixes luṅ (aorist III 2. 110) add liṅ (Benedictive III. 3. 159) the Atmanepada is used.

This is a restrictive sûtra, the root मृङ् (to die), is marked with a ङ् as an indicatory letter; so by sûtra 12 it would be always Atmanepadi. But the present aphorism restricts it to लुङ् luṅ (Aorist) and लिङ् liṅ (Benedictive) tenses as well as to those tenses which are शित्. It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take शित् affixes are the special tenses, *i.e.*, the Present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, liṅ, luṅ, and s'it affixes, that the root mṛi takes the terminations of the âtmanepada. Thus the aorist अमृत amṛita he died; Benedictive मृषीष्ट mṛishîshta 'may he die.' Similarly before sit affixes: thus म्रियते 'he dies,' = मृ + श + ते (VII. 4. 28 रिङ् शयग्लिङ् क्षु) म्रिय + अ + ते = म्रियते (VI. 4. 77. अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ) म्रियेते, म्रियन्ते The root मृ belongs to the sixth class of verbs called Tudâdi which take the vikaraṇa श in the conjugational tenses (III. 1. 77).

In other tenses, viz., the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is parasmaipadi. As मरिष्यति he will die. अमरिष्यत्.

पूर्ववत्सनः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववत् , सनः , (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनः पूर्वो यो धातुः आत्मनेपदी तद्वत्सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

62. The verb which is Atmanepadi in its primitive form before the taking of the affix san, will also be Atmanepadi when it ends in the affix san. In other words; after a desiderative verb, Atmanepada is employed, if it would have been used after the primitive verb.

If the primary verb is parasmaipadi, its desiderative will be also parasmaipadi; if the primary verb is Atmanepadi, its desiderative will be Atmanepadi. This is the general rule. Some exceptions to it have already been mentioned in sûtras 57, 58, and 59. A root which was âtmanepadi, before taking the Desiderative affix सन् san, will be âtmanepadi even when it takes the affix सन् san. In other words, that by reason of which the âtmanepada affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same terminations

to be applied when the verb ends in सन् san. Thus it was said in sûtra 12, that roots having an anudâtta accented vowel as indicatory or a ङ् ṅ as their indicatory letter take the terminations of the âtmanepada. Thus आस्ते 'he sits down' and शेते 'he sleeps.' The verb आस् (to sit down) and शीङ् (to lie down) will remain âtmanepadi, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus असिसिषते 'he wishes to lie down.' Similarly sûtra 17 declared that the verb निविश् is âtmanepadi, as निविशते. This will be âtmanepadi also in the Desiderative form, as निविविक्षते 'he wishes to enter.' So also by sûtra 40, आक्रमते is âtmanepadi, the Desiderative आचिक्रंसते will also be âtmanepadi.

But though by 60 and 61, शीयते and म्रियते are âtmanepadi, yet शिशत्सति 'he wishes to lie down,' मुमूर्षति 'he wishes to die,' are parasmaipadi. Because the âtmanepada affixes were ordained after the roots शद and मृङ् only under exceptional conditions and not generically, and as those conditions do not exist in the desiderative, the latter does not take âtmanepada terminations.

Of course that which in its primary state would not have taken the terminations of the âtmanepada, there being a prohibition to that effect, will not allow them in its Desiderative form. As अनुचिकीर्षति 'he wishes to imitate.' पराचिकीर्षति. Here the root कृञ् by rule 79 has been especially declared to be parasmaipadi, to the exclusion of âtmanepada affixes which would otherwise have come by Rules 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also parasmaipadi. The force of ञ् causing âtmanepada is counteracted by 79.

Now it might be asked:—True, this rule provides for those cases where a root is conjugated in two forms, one a Primitive and another a Desiderative conjugation. But what provision do you make for those partial verbs which take the affix सन् even in their primitive form; and in whose case we have no prior form to look upon as a guide in the application of âtmanepada affixes. And there are at least 7 such quasi-roots which take सन् in this way, called also the self-descriptive सन्. Those quasi-roots are गुप्, तिज्, कित्, मान्, बध, दान्, and शान्. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix सन् and have no simpler conjugation?" To this we reply; "In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive सन् the pada will be regulated by the indicatory letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are जुगुप्स, तितिक्ष, चिकित्स, मीमांस, बीभत्स, शीशांस and दीदांस, yet by the maxim अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति, "a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing;" the sign made in the expression गुप् &c., will qualify the whole verb जुगुप्स &c." Thus we have जुगुप्सते he despises, चिकित्सते he cures; मीमांसते he investigates, &c.

आम्प्रत्ययवत्कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्-प्रत्ययवत्, कृञः, अनुप्रयोगस्य (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्येवधातोः कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्यात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

63. Like the verb that takes the affix âm, if the verb be conjugated with the Atmanepada terminations, so of the verb kṛi when subjoined thereto as an auxiliary, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sûtra applies where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. There are in Sanskrit two forms of the perfect tense (लिट्): one formed in the ordinary way by the reduplication of the root and adding the terminations; the other called the periphrastic perfect, is formed by adding आम् to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots कृ (to do), भू (to be) or अस् (to be). These latter verbs are called anuprayoga or auxiliary verbs, as it is with their help that the perfect tense is formed. The question then arises, what conjugation, parasmai or âtmanepada, do these auxiliaries take in forming the periphrastic perfect? This sûtra supplies the answer:—the auxiliary कृ follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root एध् (to increase, prosper) is âtmanepadi, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb कृ will be also in the âtmanepada. Thus एधांचक्रे (he prospered). Similarly इद् (to appear with great splendour) is parasmaipadi and the auxiliary कृ after it will be parasmaipada, as इन्दाञ्चकार (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries भू and अस् retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus एधाम्बभूव, एधामास.

The word âm-pratyaya of the sûtra means 'that after which the affix âm (III. I. 35 and 36. कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि) comes.' Of the verb kriñ, when subjoined to another as an auxiliary, the termination is that of the âtmanepada like the verb that takes the affix âm. If this sûtra enjoined a rule of injunction (vidhi), then there would be the termination of the âtmanepada even in examples like उद्ब्जांचकार and उद्म्भांचकार where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This is no valid objection to the present sûtra. It is to be interpreted in both ways, that is, both as a vidhi (a general injunction) and a niyama (a restrictive injunction). How is that to be done? Because the word pûrvavat of the last sûtra is to be read in the present aphorism also. The second explanation in that case will be for the sake of establishing a niyama or restrictive rule.

It has already been said above that the auxiliary verbs कृ, भू and अस् are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. I. 40, कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि, meaning, the verb kṛiñ is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs, that take âm. In this sûtra (III. I. 40) the word kṛiñ is a pratyâhâra, implying the verbs कृञ्, भू and अस्. It might be asked how is this pratyâhâra formed? The word kṛi is taken from the fourth word of sûtra V. 4. 50, अभूततद्भावे कृभ्वस्तियोगे &c., and the letter ñ is taken from sûtra V. 4. 58 कृञो द्वितीय &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb kriñ is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs भू and अस्. These three verbs denoting absolute action unmodified by any especial condition have in all languages been fixed upon as the best auxiliaries.

It must, however, be noted that the word kṛiñ in this sûtra is not used as a pratyâhâra and consequently does not include the verbs भू and अस्.

प्रोपाभ्यां युजेरयज्ञपात्रेषु ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र- उपाभ्याम्, युजेः, अयज्ञ-पात्रेषु, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येवंपूर्वाद् युजेरयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगविषयादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वराद्यन्तोपसृष्टादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

64. After the verb yuj to join, the Atmanepada is used, when it is preceded by pra and upa except with reference to sacrificial vessels even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb युजिर् 'to join' is svaritet, and consequently by sûtra 72 it is always âtmanepadi, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sûtra declares when this verb may take the terminations of âtmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb युज् preceded by the prepositions प्र and उप the terminations are of the âtmanepada, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As प्रयुङ्क्ते 'he joins or employs'; उपयुङ्क्ते 'he fits or uses.'

Why do we say "when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels?" Because there the terminations will be of the parasmaipada. As द्वन्द्वं न्यञ्चि पात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति.

Vârtika :—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the âtmanepada when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus उद्युङ्क्ते and नियुङ्क्ते. In fact, all upasargas, with the exception of सम्, निर्, and दुर्, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the Vârtika amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.

With सम्, निर् and दुर्, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as संयुनक्ति.

समः क्ष्णुवः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, क्ष्णुवः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ष्णु तेजने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

65. After the verb kshṇu, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb क्ष्णु 'to sharpen, whet, or grind,' is generally parasmaipadi, but it is âtmanepadi, when it is preceded by the prefix सम्; as संक्ष्णुते शस्त्रम् 'he whets the weapon', संक्ष्णुवाते 'they two whet', संक्ष्णुवते 'they all whet.'

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb kshṇu, when it could well have been included in the sûtra 29 ante, which also speaks of the force of the prefix sam, when used with the verbs gam, richchha, &c. To this the answer is that, that sûtra treats of intransitive verbs, the word akarmaka being understood therein, while the present sûtra, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

भुजोऽनवने ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुजः, अनवने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुजपालनाभ्यवहारयोरिति रुधादौ पठ्यते । तस्मादनवनेऽपालने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

66. After the verb bhuj, the Atmanepada is used, except in the sense of protecting.

The root bhuj when it does not mean to protect, is âtmanepadi. This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As भुंक्ते 'he eats or enjoys'; also bhuñjâte, bhuñjâte &c. But पुत्रान् भुनक्ति पिता 'the father cherishes the sons', भुनक्त्येनमग्निराहितः.

The root bhuj belongs also to the tudâdi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuj belonging to the tudâdi class is not to be taken in this sûtra, because that bhuj has never the sense of protecting. Therefore विभुजति पाणिम् 'he bends the hand,' is in the parasmaipada.

णेरणौ यत् कर्म णौ चेत् स कर्त्तानाध्याने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, अणौ, यत्, कर्म, णौ, चेत्, सः, कर्त्ता, अनाध्याने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति, कथम् अणौ यत्कर्म णौ चेत् तदेवकर्म, स एव कर्त्ता भवति । अनाध्याने, आध्यानं वर्जयित्वा ॥

67. After a verb ending in the affix ṇi (causal) the Atmanepada is employed, provided that when the object in the non-ṇi or non-causal sense becomes the

agent in the causal; and when it does not mean 'to remember with regret;' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The causatives (णिच्) are conjugated in the âtmanepadi, when they are used in the passive voice, that is to say when a word which was an objective case in the ordinary verb becomes nominative case in the causative; and the nominative case of the ordinary verbs becomes objective case in the causative. In short when casuatives are used in the passive voice, they are âtmanepadi. This round-about phraseology has been employed, because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form; as आरोहयते हस्तिपकान् हस्ती.

The phrase 'णेः (after the causatives)' of this sûtra governs the four succeeding sûtras and is understood in them. The sûtra consists of the following words:—णेः 'after the causative;' अणौ 'in the non-causative;' यत् 'what;' कर्म 'object;' णौ 'in the causative;' चेत् 'if;' सः 'that;' कर्ता nominative;' अनाध्यान 'except to remember.'

In general, by sûtra 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the âtmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sûtra applies to the case where fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

After the verbs that take the affix णिच्, the terminations are those of the âtmanepada. How? When that which was the object when the primitive verb was used non-causatively, becomes also the object when the derivative verb is used causatively; and even that object becomes also the agent as well. There is exception, however, in the case when the verb means to 'remember with regret.' As आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.' Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb आरोहन्ति into a causative form. The sentence then will be, आरोहयते हस्ती स्वयमेव 'the elephant makes itself to be mounted.' Similarly उपसिंचन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant'; and उपसेचयते हस्ती स्वयमेव 'the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled;' पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम् 'the attendants see the king'; and दर्शयते राजा स्वयमेव 'the king makes himself to be seen.'

Why do we say 'after the causatives?' Because the rule of this sûtra will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix णिच्; as आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and आरोह्यमाणो हस्ती साध्वारोहति 'the elephant that is being mounted, mounts gracefully'. Here the terminations are of the parasmaipada in the second case also.

Why do we say 'in the non-causative non-ṇi'? For this rule will not apply when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix णिच्; such are the roots of the tenth class or churâdi in which the ṇich is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root गण belongs to churâdi class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As गणयति गणं गोपालकः 'the cowherd counts the herd;' and the causative form is गणयति गणः स्वयमेव 'the herd makes itself to be counted.' The terminations in both cases are those of the parasmaipada.

Why do we say 'when the object (karma) becomes the agent?' Because the rule will not apply, when any other kâraka or case, than the karma or object, of the primitive verb becomes the agent in the causative. Thus लुनाति दात्रेण 'he cuts with the scythe,' लावयति दात्रं स्वयमेव 'the scythe is made to cut of itself.' Here the word dâtra was the instrument of the primitive verb which became agent in the causative, and therefore in the causative the terminations are of the parasmaipada only.

Why do we say 'if in the causative' in the sûtra? It is for the purpose of indicating that the verb must be one and the same, both in the primary sentence and the causative sentence. Therefore the rule does not apply here where the causative verb सेचयति in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and आरोह्यमाणो हस्ती भीतान् सेचयति मूत्रेण 'the elephant that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men'.

The word सः 'that' is employed in the aphorism to show that the objects in both sentences must be the same and not different. Therefore in the following example where the objects are different, the terminations of parasmaipada are only used. आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant'; and आरोह्यमाणो हस्ती स्थलमारोहयति मनुष्यान् 'the elephant, that is being caused to mount, makes men mount on the land.'

Why do we use the word kartâ (agent) in the sûtra? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the parasmaipada only would be used. As आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and तानारोहयति महामात्रः 'the elephant-driver makes it to mount.'

Why do we say 'except when meaning to remember with tenderness?' Observe, स्मरति वनगुल्मस्य कोकिलः 'the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree;' and स्मरयत्येनं वनगुल्मः स्वयमेव 'the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.'

भीस्म्योर्हेतुभये ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-स्म्योः, हेतु- भये, (णेः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिभेतेः स्मयतेश्च ण्यन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति हेतुभये ॥

68. After the causatives of the verbs bhî to fear, and smi to wonder, even the fruit of the action accrues not to the agent the Atmanepada is employed, when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is understood in this sûtra and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This sûtra is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेतु in the aphorism has been defined later on in sûtra I. 4. 55 (स्वतन्त्र कर्त्ता); it is the agent which is the mover of another's agent. When a fear is caused by a हेतु it is called हेतुभय. The word भय 'fear' in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication विस्मय 'astonishment' also. As जटिलो भीषयते 'the jatila, the cock-headed frightens.' मुण्डो भीषयते 'the munda, the shave-headed frightens'; जटिलो विस्मापयते 'the jatila astonishes,' मुण्डो विस्मापयते 'the munda astonishes' *i.e.*, the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens,' &c.

Why do we say हेतुभय? For if the fear or astonishment is not the direct result caused by the agent, but arises from something else, then the âtmanepada will not be used. As कुञ्चिकयैनं भाययति 'he frightens him with the kunchika,' रूपेण विस्माययति 'he astonishes with his form'. Here kunchika and rupa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

गृधिवञ्च्योः प्रलम्भने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृधि-वञ्च्योः, प्रलम्भने, (णेः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृधु अभिकाङ्क्षायाम् वञ्चु गतावित्येतयोर्ण्यन्तयोः प्रलम्भने वर्त्तमानयोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

69. After the causatives of the verbs gridh to covet, and vañch to go, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causatives ending in णि' is to be supplied here from sûtra 67. This sûtra is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रलम्भन of the sûtra means deceiving. As मानवकं गर्धयते 'he deceives the boy,' मानवकं वञ्चयते 'he cheats the boy.'

Why do we say 'when it means deceiving,' For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaipada. As श्वानं गर्धयति 'he causes the dog to bark,' अहिं वञ्चयति 'he avoids the serpent.'

लियः संमाननशालीनीकरणयोश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ लियः, संमानन-शालीनी-करणयोः, च, (णेः प्रलम्भने आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लियो ण्यन्तात्संमानने शालीनीकरणे च वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति च शब्दात् प्रलम्भने च ॥

70. After the causative of the verb lî to melt or stick, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of showing respect, subduing and deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is to be supplied here from sûtra 67. This sûtra has its scope only when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. In the Dhâtupâṭha, there are two roots ली, one is technically called लीङ् and means to stick, and belongs to divâdi class. The other ली meaning to 'melt' belongs to kryâdi class. As there is no specification in the sûtra what ली is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word च in the sûtra is to include the word प्रलम्भन 'to delude' of the last sûtra into the present. The word संमानन means to show respect. The word शालीनीकरण means to subdue. As जटाभिरालापयते 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair.' श्येनो वर्तिकामुल्लापयते 'the hawk subdues the partridge', कस्त्वामुल्लापयते 'who deceives thee.'

The sûtra विभाषा लीयतेः VI. 1. 51 declares that the ई of ली is optionally changed into आं before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root ली has any of the above three senses : in these cases the substitution of आ is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by sûtra VI. 1. 51 is a व्यवस्थितविभाषा and not a general विभाषा applicable everywhere.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of 'to show respect, &c.'? Because otherwise there is parasmaipada, As बालकमुल्लापयति.

मिथ्योपपदात्कृञोऽभ्यासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिथ्या-उपपदात्, कृञः ; अभ्यासे, (णेः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णयन्तात् करोतेर्मिथ्योपपदादात्मनेपदं भवति अभ्यासे ॥

71. After the causative of the verb kṛi, the Atmanepada is used, when it has the word mithya, incorrect, as an upapada or dependent word, and is

employed in the sense of 'repeated wrong utterance' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is to be supplied from sûtra 67. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word abhyâsa means doing again, or repetition; as पदं मिथ्या कारयते means 'he repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly, that is with wrong accent, &c., not once but constantly'.

Why do we say 'when the word mithyâ is used as an upapada?' The causative of kṛi will take parasmaipada when it has any other upapada. Thus पदं सुष्ठुम् कारयति 'he pronounces the word correctly.'

Why do we say 'of the verb कृञ्'? Because the causative of any other verb used along with the word mithyâ will not have âtmanepada; as पदं मिथ्या वाचयति 'he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.' Here वच् takes parasmaipada.

Why do we say 'repeatedly'? For if the incorrect utterance is not habitual, then parasmaipada will be used; as पदं मिथ्याकारयति 'he pronounces wrongly, not always but once.'

स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरित-ञितः, कर्तृ-अभिप्राये, क्रिया-फले (णेः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितेतो ये धातवो ञितश्च तेभ्य आत्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्तारं चेत् क्रियाफलमभिप्रैति ॥

72. After the verb marked with a svarita, (svaritet) or which has an indicatory ñ (ñit), the terminations of the Atmanepada are employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase णेः does not go further. The word क्रियाफलं is a compound, meaning 'fruit of the action.' When the principal object for the sake of which the action is begun, is meant for the agent indicated by the verb, there the âtmanepada is used after verbs having an indicatory ञ or a svarita accent. As यजते 'he sacrifices for himself'; पचते 'he cooks for himself.' Here the verb यज् and पच् are marked with svarita accent in the Dhâtupâṭha, and therefore they take the âtmanepada terminations.

Similarly सुनुते 'he presses the soma-juice,' कुरुते 'he does.' Here the verbs सुञ् and कृञ् have an idicatory ञ्.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting heaven by performance of sacrifices, eating of food, &c., is meant for the agent. That is to say, he sacrifices in order that he himself may attain heaven, he cooks in order that he himself may eat, &c.

Why do we say 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent'? Otherwise it will have parasmaipada. As यजन्ति याजकाः 'the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients)' पचन्ति पाचकाः 'the cooks cook (for their masters)'; कुर्वन्ति कर्मकराः 'the menials work (for their masters).' Here though the fees and the wages are the fruits which the agent gets, yet as that fruit is not the principal object for which the action was begun—the principal object of the sacrifice was not that the priest should get his fee, but that the sacrificer may go to heaven—the verb takes the terminations of the Parasmai pada. Here the principal fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, but to a third party.

अपाद्वदः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, वदः, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्वदतेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

73. After the verb vad to tell, preceded by apa, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the terminations are of the Atmanepada.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent," is understood here. The sûtra is clear. As धनकामो न्यायमपवदते 'the wealth-seeker forsakes justice, that is to say, he wishes to acquire wealth at the sacrifice of justice. But when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is employed. As अपवदति.

णिचश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिचः, च, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिजन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥

74. After a verb ending in affix ṇi (causal) when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the Atmanepada is employed.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent" is to be supplied from sûtra 72. The verbs that take the affix णिच् ṇich are generally causatives. As कटं कारयते 'he causes the mat to be made for himself'; ओदनं पाचयते 'he causes the food to be cooked for himself. When the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is used. As कटं कारयति परस्य 'he causes another's mat to be made.'

समुदाङ्भ्यो यमो ऽग्रन्थे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उद्-आङ्भ्यः, यमः, अग्रन्थे (कर्त्रभिप्राये आ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उद् आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वाद्यमेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ग्रन्थविषयश्चेत्प्रयोगो न भवति ॥

75. After the verb yam to strive, preceded by sam, ut and âṅ, when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues the to agent' is read into this aphorism by anuvritti from sûtra 72. As व्रीहीन् संयच्छते 'he gathers rice'; भारमुद्यच्छते 'he lifts up the load'; वस्त्रमायच्छते 'he draws out the cloth.' The root yam preceded by the preposition आङ् takes the terminations of the Atmanepada by virtue of aphorism 28 ante; but in that aphorism the verb was intransitive, here it is transitive, and this explains the necessity of making two different sûtras for one compound verb आयम्.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book.' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the parasmaipada. As उद्यच्छति चिकित्सां वैद्यः 'the physician diligently studies medicine.'

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the above compound verbs are parasmaipadi. As संयच्छति, उद्यच्छति, आयच्छति.

अनुपसर्गाज्ज्ञः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, ज्ञः (कर्त्रभिप्राये आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गाज्जानातेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

76. After the verb jñâ when not preceded by any upasarga, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is understood in this sûtra also. Thus गां जानीते 'he recognises the cow as his own'; अश्वं जानीते 'he recognises the horse as his own.'

Why do we say when not preceded by any upasarga? For when compounded with prepositions, it may take the Atmanepada terminations; as स्वर्गं लोकं न प्रजानाति मूढः 'the fool does not know the heavenly regions.'

When, however, the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the simple root ज्ञा takes parasmaipada terminations. देवदत्तस्य गां जानाति 'he recognises Devadatta's cow.'

विभाषोपपदेन प्रतीयमाने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपपदेन, प्रतीयमाने (कर्त्रभि० आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समीपे श्रूयमाणं शब्दान्तरमुपपदं तेन प्रतीयमाने कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले विभाषाऽऽत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

77. The Atmanepada is optionally used, when the fact of the fruit of the action accuring to the agent is indicated by an upapada, *i.e.* by a word used along with the verb.

By the preceding five sûtras 72 to 76, Atmanepada terminations were ordained to come after verbs which implied the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denoted this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an upapada, that is by a word governed by the verb, the necessity of using the Atmanepada affixes, to denote the same idea, is obviously removed, and in such a case it is optional whether we use the Atmanepada or the Parasmaipada terminations. As स्वं यज्ञं यजति or यजते 'he sacrifices for his own yajña'; स्वं कटं करोति or कुरुते 'he makes his own cot.'; स्वं पुत्रमपवदति or अपवदते.; स्वंमोदनं पाचयते or पाचयति, &c. So on with all the above five sûtras.

शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषात्, कर्त्तरि, परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषात्कर्तरिपरस्मैपदं भवति शेषादेवनान्यस्मात् अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदमुक्तम् ॥

78. After the rest, *i.e.* after all those verbs not falling under any one of the previous provisions, the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed in marking the agent (*i.e.* in the active voice).

The rules of Atmanepada have been declared in the preceding 66 sûtras, 12 to 77. The terminations of the Parasmaipada, which are the general verbal terminations, will come everywhere else, that is to say, where its operation is not debarred by any one of the preceding aphorisms. The present sûtra declares this universal rule. The word s'esha or the rest, means that which is the residue after the application of all the previous restrictive rules. Thus it was declared by sûtra 12 ante that a root having an Anudâtta vowel or a ङ as *it*, will take Atmanepada terminations. As आस्ते शेते. The converse of this will take parasmaipada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudâtta accent or a ङ as *it*. Thus याति 'he goes,' वाति 'it blows.' It has been declared by sûtra 17 that the root विश when preceded by नि takes Atmanepada terminations, as निविशते. When not preceded by नि but any other preposition, it will take the parasmaipada termination. As आविशति, प्रविशति.

Why do we say "when marking the agent"? For when used in the passive voice the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As पच्यते 'it is cooked', गम्यते 'it is gone.'

Why is not parasmaipada used when the verb is employed reflexively? As in the following example :—पच्यते ओदनः स्वयमेव 'the food cooks of itself.' Because in the present sûtra the word कर्तरि of sûtra 14 ante is to be read in by anuvritti, so that, in fact there are two कर्तरि in this aphorism which thus means "when the agent of the verb is an agent pure and simple then parasmaipada is employed." While when a verb is used reflexively (कर्मकर्तरि) the agent of the verb is also, in one aspect, the object of the verb; and it is therefore, that in reflexive verbs the Atmanepada terminations are employed.

अनुपराभ्यांकृञः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-पराभ्याम् । कृञः । (परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपरा इत्येवं पूर्वात् करोतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

79. After the verb kṛi to make, preceded by anu and para, parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent, and when the sense is that of "divulging," &c.

By aphorism 32 ante, the root कृ took the terminations of the Atmanepada when the sense denoted was that of "divulging, reviling," &c., and it also took Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent by virtue of sûtra 72, because the root कृञ् has an indicatory ञ. The present sûtra makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipada. Thus अनुकरोति 'he imitates,' पराकरोति 'he does well.'

अभिप्रत्यतिभ्यः क्षिपः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-प्रति-अतिभ्यः क्षिपः ॥ (प० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिप्रति अतिइत्येवं पूर्वात् क्षिपः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

80. After the verb kship, to throw, coming after abhi, prati and ati, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root क्षिप् to throw, is svariteta therefore by sûtra 72 ante, it would have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent; this aphorism ordains prasmaipada instead. As अभिक्षिपति 'he throws on', प्रतिक्षिपति 'he turns away or rejects,' अतिक्षिपति 'he throws beyond.'

Why do we say 'when coming after abhi, prati, and ati'? Because when compounded with any other preposition, it will not take parasmaipada, but will be governed by sûtra 72. As आक्षिपते 'he throws down.'

The second कर्तृ of sûtra 14 is also understood here, so that when the verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present sûtra will not apply. As अभिक्षिप्यते स्वयमेव 'it is thrown on of itself.'

प्राद्वह ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राद् । वहः (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र पूर्वाद् वहतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

81. After the verb vah to bear, coming after pra, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root वह to carry is svaritet, and by sûtra 72 it would have taken the Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. But the present sûtra ordains parasmaipada instead. As प्रवहति 'it flows.'

Why do we say "when coming after pra"? Because after any other preposition it will not take prasmaipada, as आवहते 'he brings.'

परेर्मृषः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः । मृषः । (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपूर्वाद् मृष्यतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

82. After the verb mṛish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root मृष "to suffer" is svaritet, and by sûtra 72 it would have taken Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This ordains parasmaipada instead. As परमृष्यति 'he endures or he becomes angry.' When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Atmanepada termination. As आमृष्यते.

According to some authors, the root वह of the last aphorism is said to be understood in this, so that वह preceded by परि will also take prasmaipada terminations; as परिवहति

व्याङ् परिभ्योरमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-आङ्-परिभ्यः । रमः । (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विआङ्परिइत्येवं पूर्वाद्रमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

83. After the verb ram to sport, preceded by vi and âṅ, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम् means 'to sport.' It is anudâttet and therefore by sûtra 12 it would have taken Atmanepada terminations; the present sûtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as विरमति 'he takes rest'; आरमति 'he delights in,' परिरमति 'he sports.'

With other prepositions than these, it will take âtmanepada termination. As अभिरमते

उपाच्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् । च । (रमः परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्रमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

84. And also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As देवदत्तमुपरमति 'he causes Devadatta to refrain.' The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was उपरमयति. This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix णिच्.

It might be asked why was not the preposition उप read along with the other preposition in the last aphorism, instead of making this a separate sûtra. The answer is that the necessity of making a separate sûtra with the preposition upa arose from the exigencies of sûtra making. It is desired, that the next sûtra 85 should apply only to the root upa-ram, and not to other compounds of ram; and this could only be done by making these two distinct sûtras.

विभाषाऽकर्मकात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा । अकर्मकात् (रमः पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्रमतेरकर्मकाद्विभाषा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intransitively.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely. This declares an option under certain circumstances. As यावद्भुक्तमुपरमति or उपरमते, he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

बुधयुधनशजनेङ्प्रुद्रुस्रुभ्यो णेः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बुध-युध-नश-जन एङ्-प्रु-द्रु-स्रुभ्यः । णेः । (प० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुधयुधनशजन एङ् प्रु द्रु स्रु इत्येतेभ्यो ण्यन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

86. After the verbs budh to know, yudh to fight, nas′ to destroy, jana to be born, iṅ to go, pru to move, dru to run, and sru to flow, ending in the affix ṇi (*i.e.*, when used in the causative), parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

By sûtra 74 ante, causatives took the âtmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This makes an exception to that and ordains parasmaipada. As बोधयति he expands; योधयति he causes to fight; नाशयति he causes destruction, जनयति he begets; अध्यापयति he teaches; प्रावयति he causes to obtain; द्रावयति he causes to melt; स्रावयति he causes to trickle.

Of the above eight roots, those which are intransitive would have taken the parasmaipada terminations under the conditions mentioned in sûtra 88 sub, that is to say, when the agent is a being endowed with reason. The present aphorism in the case of such intransitive verbs makes this additional statement, that those intransitive verbs will take parasmaipada, even when the agent is not a being endowed with reason. As बोधयति पद्मम् he makes the lotus to expand, योधयति काष्ठानि he makes the woods to strike each other, नाशयति दुःखम् he destroys sorrow, जनयति सुखम् he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of "moving" will get parasmaipada by sûtra 87. The present sûtra, in their case makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmaipada terminations even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus प्रु means both 'to move' and 'to obtain,' द्रु means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and स्रु means 'to flow' as well as to 'to trickle.' As प्रवते he obtains; अयोद्रवति the iron melts; कुण्डिका स्रवति the water-vessel drips. The examples in the first paragraph have therefore been thus translated.

The root इङ् is always compounded with अधि.

निगरणचलनार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निगरण-चलन-अर्थेभ्यः च । (णेः परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निगरणार्थेभ्यश्च चलनार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्योणयन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अदेः प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥

87. And after the causatives of verbs which have the sense of the 'eating or swallowing' and 'shaking or moving' parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The phrase 'when used in the causative (णेः) of the last sûtra is to be read into this also. The parasmaipada is ordained as an exception to sûtra 74 by which âtmanepada was ordained when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. The word निगरणं means 'eating,' and चलनं means 'moving,' 'shaking.' As निगारयति he causes to swallow; आशयति he causes to eat; भोजयति he feasts; चलयति he moves; चोपयति, कम्पयति he shakens. This aphorism applies to transitive verbs, and to verbs whose agents in non-causative state are inanimate objects, *i. e.* not possessed with reason.

Vart:—The prohibition of the root अद to eat, must be mentioned. The causative of अद to eat, takes âtmanepada. Thus अत्ति देवदत्तः Devadatta eats; आदयते देवदत्तेन he is made to eat by Devadatta.

अणावकर्म्मकाच्चित्तवत् कर्त्तृकात् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणौ । अकर्म्मकात् । चित्तवत् । कर्त्तृकात् (णेः पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः । अण्यन्तो यो धातुरकर्मकश्चित्तवत्कर्तृकश्चतस्मादृणयन्तात् परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

88. The affixes of the parasmaipada are employed after the causal of that verb, which in its non-causal state was intransitive and had a being endowed with reason for its agent; even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase णेः is understood here also. The Atmanepada was ordained by sûtra 74 when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains parasmaipada. As आस्ते देवदत्तः Devadatta sits; आसयति देवदत्तं he makes Devadatta to sit; शेते देवदत्तः Devadatta sleeps; शाययति देवदत्तं he causes Devadatta to lie down.

Why do we say 'in its non-causal state'? For if the causative root is from another causative root, and not from a simple non-causative root, then the parasmaipada will not be employed. Thus 'if one person such as Devadatta, causes another person Yajñadatta, to cause a third person Ramadatta, to do an act denoted by an intransitive root, as 'mounting' for instance, though Ramadatta mounts for his own benefit, the verb to be used in such a case is आरोहयते, in the Atmanepada, from the root आरुह to mount; and not आरोहयति.' (Iengar's Guide to Panini).

Why do we say 'which was intransitive"? This rule will not apply if the verb in its non-causative state was transitive. Thus from कारि the causative from कृ, if the person caused to do the act denoted by the verb does it for his own use, comes only कारयते though the person has a will; for the original root कृ though a non-causative root, is not an intransitive root.' (*Ibid*).

Why do we say 'having a being endowed with reason for its agent'? For if the agent is a non-sentient object, the verb will be Atmanepadi. Thus from शोषि the causative from शुष 'to dry' if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as व्रीहयः 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action, *i. e.*, the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes शोषयते in the âtmanepadi, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; *e. g.*, शोषयते व्रीहीनातपः the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (*Ibid*).

न पादम्याङ्यमाङ्यसपरिमुहरुचिनृतिवदवसः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न । पा-दमि-आङ्यम-आङ्यस-परिमुह-रुचि-नृति-वद-वसः । (णेः । परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादमि आङ्यम आङ्यस परिमुह रुचि नृति वदवसः इत्येतेभ्यो णयन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ [illegible] धेट उपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used after the causals of the verbs pâ to drink, dam to tame, âyam to extend, âyas to exert oneself, parimuh to be bewildered, ruch to shine, nṛit to dance, vad to speak, and vas to dwell.

The last two aphorisms had ordained parasmaipada instead of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent, thus debarring the latter's action which would otherwise have taken place by virtue of sûtra 74. This sûtra prohibits the last two sûtras, and re-instates Atmanepada of sûtra 74. Thus root पा to drink, has the sense of nigaraṇa or swallowing, the roots दम &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root नृत् to dance has the sense of चलन or moving, but still these verbs have âtmanepada affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As पाययते he causes to drink, दमयते he causes to be tame, आयामयते he lengthens, आयासयते he troubles, परिमोहयते he entices, रोचयते he makes agreeable, नर्त्तयते he causes to dance, वादयते he makes to speak, वासयते he causes to dwell.

Vart:—The root धेट should be enumerated along with पा &c. Thus धापयेते शिशुमेकं समीची. The doe suckles a young infant.

वाक्यषः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा । क्यषः । (परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यषन्ताद्धातोर्वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix kyash.

The affix क्यष is ordained by sûtra III. 1. 12 भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यच्वेर्लोपश्च हलः after the words लोहित &c. These roots take optionally parasmaipada. As लोहितायति or ते he reddens. पटपटायति or ते he makes paṭ paṭ.

द्युद्भ्योलुङि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युद्भ्यः । लुङि । (वा परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्युतादिभ्यो लुङि वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

91. After the verbs dyut to shine, &c. the terminations of the parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of luṅ (aorist) follow.

The Dyutâdi verbs are 22 in number, to be found in Dhâtûpâṭha in the Bhuadi class. By the use of the word द्युद्भ्यः in the plural in the sûtra, the force is that of &c. These verbs are anudatta and so by sûtra 12 they would have been invariably âtmanepadî, this aphorism makes them optionally

so in the aorist. Thus अद्युतत् or अद्योतिष्ट he shone. In other tenses than the aorist (लुङ्) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As द्योतते he shines.

For a list of Dyutâdi verbs see Dhatupaṭha.

वृद्भ्यः स्यसनोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्भ्यः । स्य-सनोः । (वा । परस्मैप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृतु, वृधु शृधु स्यन्दूकृपू । एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्येसनि च परतो वा परस्मैपदं भवतिं ॥

92. After the verbs vṛit to exist, &c., Parasmaipada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The वृतादि verbs are five in number and are included in the द्युतादि sub-class. They are वृत् to be, वृध् to grow, शृधु to fart or break wind; स्यन्दु to ooze, and कृपु to be able. As 1st Future वर्त्स्यति or वर्त्तिष्यते, it will be; conditional अवर्त्स्यत् or अवर्तिष्यत्; Desiderative विवृत्सति or विवर्त्तिषते &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As वर्त्तते it is.

लुटिचक्लृपः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटि । च क्लृपः । (स्यसनो वा परस्मैप०)

वृत्तिः ॥ लुटि च स्यसनोश्च कृपे परस्मैपदं वा भवति ॥

93. After the verb klṛip to be fit, Parasmaipada is optionally employed, when luṭ (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed.

The verb कृपू is one of the five verbs of the sub-class वृतादि of the last aphorism. Therefore it will take both parasmaipada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्य or सन follow. The present sûtra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or लुट. Thus in Luṭ we have—कल्प्तासि or कल्प्तासे thou wilt be; in 1st Future we have:—कल्पिष्यते or कल्प्स्यति he will be; in the Desiderative we have:—चिक्लृप्सति or चिकल्पिषते; in the conditional we have:—अकल्प्स्यत् or अकल्पिष्यत.

ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER IV.

आकडारादेका संज्ञा ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ कडाराद्, एका-संज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडाराः कर्मधारय इति वक्ष्यति आ एतस्मात् सूत्रावधेर्यदित ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः तत्र एकासंज्ञाभवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. From this sûtra up to the aphorism Kaḍârâḥ Karmadhâraye (II. 2. 38) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2.) and that which were its claim disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10. and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11.) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name, *i.e.*. 'heavy.' Thus in भिद् to divide छिद् to split, the इ is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिक्षा teaching भिक्षा begging. Thus in the root तक्ष् the अ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अततक्षत्. Similarly अररक्षत्. The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥ २॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषेधे, परम्, कार्यम्॥

वृत्तिः ॥ (तुल्यबलविरोधो विप्रतिषेधः) तस्मिन् विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यम् भवति ॥

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.' When two topics having different objects in view find scope of action simultaneously in one particular case, that opposition of equal forces is called vipratishedha. A general rule (utsarga) and its exception (upavâda), or an invariable (nitya) and an optional (anitya) rule, or an antaranga and

a bahiranga rule, are not rules of equal force. There the stronger prevails against the weaker. As an example of rules of equal force, see VII. 3. 102. and VII. 3. 103. The first rule declares, 'when a case-affix beginning with a letter of yañ pratyâhâra follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending in a short अ.' As Vṛiksha + bhyâm = Vṛikshâbhyam. The next rule declares :—When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter or jhal pratyâhâra follows, ए is the substitute for the final short अ of an inflective base.' As Vṛiksha + su = Vṛiksheshu. But when the plural case-affix bhyaḥ follows, what rule are we to apply? For the letter bha belongs both to the pratyâhâras yañ and jhal. Are we to lengthen the short अ, or substitute ए? The present sûtra gives the reply, ए is to be substituted because VII. 3. 103 ordaining ए follows next to VII. 3. 102. Thus Vṛiksha + bhyaḥ = Vṛikshebyaḥ.

यूस्त्र्याख्यौ नदी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई-ऊ, स्त्री-आख्यौ, नदी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकारान्तमूकारान्तं च स्त्र्याख्यं शब्दरूपं नदी संज्ञं भवति ॥

3. Word-forms ending in long î and û being names of females are called Nadî.

The word यू is compound of ई + ऊ. The word stryâkhya means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grâmaṇi has. As the words कुमारी Kumârî a virgin, यवागू, yavâgûḥ rice gruel. The declension of nouns of nadî class is somewhat peculiar which will be treated of later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 आट् is the augment of the case-affixes having an indicatory ङ when they come after a word ending with a Nadî.

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the dative of कुमारी will be कुमार्यै, the dative of दुहितृ will be दुहित्रे.

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadî. As ग्रामणीः leader of a village ; सेनानीः leader of an army ; खलपूः a sweeper ; their dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेनान्ये, खलप्वे.

Why have we used the word âkhyâ 'name' in the text? Because feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये स्त्रियै and खलप्वे स्त्रियै.

नेयङुवङ्स्थानावस्त्री ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इयङ्-उवङ्-स्थानौ, अस्त्री, (यूनदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङ् उवङोः स्थाने ययोरितीयङुवङ्स्थानौ तौ यू नदीसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

4. Feminine words ending in î and û which admit the substitute (इयङ्) iyañ and (उवङ्) uvañ (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadî; except the word strî, (which is called nadî) notwithstanding its substituting iyañ.)

The definition of Nadî given in the last sûtra was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus श्री, happiness, भ्रू brow, admit the substitutes iyañ and uvañ respectively, and are not nadî. Their vocative singular is हे श्रीः, हे भ्रूः &c., while the vocative singular of strî is हे स्त्रि.

वाऽऽमि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आमि, (नेयङुवङ-यू-नदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङुवङ्स्थानौ यू आमिपरतो वा नदीसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

5. Feminine words ending in î and û, though admitting iyañ and uvañ substitutes, are optionally termed Nadî, when the affix âm (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word strî, which is always Nadî.

श्री+आम्=श्री इयङ्+आम्=श्रीयाम्; भ्रू+आम्=भ्रूवाम्; or श्री+आम्=श्रीनुट्+आम् (VII. 1. 54)=श्रीणाम्; भ्रू+आम्=भ्रूणाम्. But strî is always nadî. and we have स्त्रीणाम् strînâm.

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last sûtra, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

ङिति ह्रस्वश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङिति (ङ्-इति) ह्रस्वः, च, (यु स्त्र्या-नदी-इयङुव-वा-अस्त्री) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङिति परतो ह्रस्वश्च य्वोः सम्बन्धी यः स्त्र्याख्यौ इयङुवङ्स्थानौ च यू वा नदीसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

6. When a case-affix having an indicatory ṅ (ṅit) follows, then feminine words ending in short î and û are optionally termed Nadî, as well as feminine nouns in long î and û which admit of iyañ and uvañ; but not so the word strî, which is always Nadî.

Feminine words in long î and û have been defined as nadî, words in short vowels can never be termed nadî, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition if they take iyañ and uvañ. The present sûtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory ङ follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory ṅ are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have:—

13. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base (añga).

The words of this sûtra require some explanation. Yasmat after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih, a precept *i.e.* a rule enjoying an affix; tadâdi, 1. S. that which begins therewith pratyaye 7. S.=in a pratyaya *i. e.* when a pratyaya follows (I. 1.) is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (Dhâtu) or a nominal base (prâtipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an añga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmât is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as an ga; because the word tadâdi follows it. This defines the word añga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ+ता=कर्ता he will do हर्ता he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति. Here because the root कृ and हृ gets the name अंग they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84). Similarly because उपगु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhied in औपगवः &c.

The words kṛi hṛi are anga with regard to the affix tâ &c. उपगु+अण्= औपगवः; कापटवः. Here upagu and kapaṭu are añga with regard to an. Similarly कृ+स्य+वः=करिष्य+वः=करिष्यावः. Here the whole word form Karishya is regarded as añga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vaḥ is enjoined after the word kṛi, the form which begins with kṛi *i.e.* karishya will also be called añga when the affix is to be added. The word tadâdi, therefore, has been used in the sûtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like sya &c., or नुम् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड+नुम्+इ=कुण्डन्+इ=कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kuṇḍa+num+î=kuṇḍan+î=kuṇḍâni, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix î by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word pratyaya? Without it the rule would have run thus:—'After whatever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Anga.' Then in स्त्री+इयती=स्त्रयती. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between ई+इ=ई. If स्त्री was here an Anga, then its last last vowel would have been replaced by इयङ् (VI. 4. 77), the form being स्त्रियियति.

Why have we used the word विधि? Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus:—"After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or prâtidadika is Añga." Thus in दधि अधुना, though the affix adhunâ is placed aftre

the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule ; and the word दधि is not called anga. Had it been so called, then the इ of dadhi should have been elided by rule VI. 4. 148.

The word pratyaya has been repeated twice in this sûtra in order to show that when an affix is elided, the term anga will not apply to what stood before it. Thus in the compound word स्त्रियै+अर्थं=स्त्र्यर्थं for the sake of the woman. Here in forming the Tat purusha compound the dative case-affix after the word स्त्री has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are elided in forming compounds. If the word स्त्री after its affix had been elided, still retained its old designation of Anga, the स्त्री+अर्थं would have been स्त्रियर्थं, the augment iyañ being added by the rule already referred to above.

सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्-तिङ्-अन्तम्, पदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तं तिङन्तं च शब्दरूपं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

14. That which ends in sup (case-affix) IV. 1. 2; or in tiñ III. 4. 78*(tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

The sup or case-affixes are those by which nouns are declined ; and tiñ are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already been given before. Thus ब्राह्मण+जस्=ब्राह्मणाः the Brâhmaṇas पचन्ति they cook.

It might be asked by a caviller why the word अन्त has been used in the aphorism, for by the rule of tadanta given in Sûtra I. 1. 72 a rule relating to sup will mean and include also that which ended with a sup-affix. To this we reply, that the very fact that the word anta is used in this sûtra, indicates by implication (jñâpaka) that the Tadanta rule of Sûtra 72 Chapter I does not apply to rules of sanjñâ (definition) made with regard to affixes. Thus tarap and tamap affixes are called gha by Sûtra I. 1. 22. The tadanta-vidhi will not apply here ; words ending with these affixes will not be called gha. Thus ब्राह्मणितरा will not be called gha, for had it been so called, the long ई will be shortened in गौरी ब्राह्मणितरा. In short, 'an affix when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term (sanjñâ) does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.'

नः क्ये ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, क्ये, (पदम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तं शब्दरूपं क्ये परतः पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

15. The word-form ending in n, is called pada, when kya follows (*i.e.*), the affixes kyach, kyañ and kyash).

These are affixes by which denominative verbs are formed from nouns. See III. 1. 8, 11, and 13. A word ending in न is called pada, when these affixes follow. Thus राजन्+क्यच्=राजीय 3rd Per. *s.* राजीयति he behaves like

a king. So also राजन्+क्यङ्=राजायते (VII. 4. 5.) चर्मन्+क्यष्=चर्मायते or चर्मायति. The result of its being called pada is that the न् of राजन्, चर्मन् &c., is elided by Sûtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of न् final in a pada which is entitled to the designation of prâtipadika). Thus राजन्+क्यच्=राज+य=राजीय (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes क्यच् &c., come after case-inflected words (*i.e.*, words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations are elided, still by Sûtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sûtra however makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in न् retain the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes do not retain that designation. Thus the words वाच् speech, स्रुच् a ladle are not treated as pada and we have वाच्यते and स्रुच्यते. Had they been pada, the च् would have been changed into क् by VIII. 2. 30.

सिति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स-इति, च, (पदम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सिति प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

16. When an affix having an indicatory स् follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sûtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the preceding word is called bha. This sûtra declares an exception to that by anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares :—" Affixes ठक् and छस् come after the vriddha (I. 1. 74) word भवत्." Here the affix छस् has an indicatory स्, therefore the word भवत्, standing before it, will be called pada. Thus भवत्+छस्=भवदीयः VII. 1. 2, belonging to you. The result of being pada is that त is changed into द (VIII 2. 39). Similarly स् is इत in युस् (After the word ûrṇâ there is yus V. 2 123). Thus ऊर्णायुः ; so also घस् V. 1. 106, has स् as indicatory. Thus ऋत्वियः There is no guṇa because of its being pada

स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिषु, असर्वनामस्थाने, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु प्रत्ययेषु परतः सर्वनामस्थानवर्जितेषु पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

17. When the affixes beginning with सु (IV. 1. 2) and ending in कप् (V. 4. 151). follow, not being Sarvanâmasthâna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

The affixes beginning with su and ending with kap are meant by the above sûtra. Thus the case-affix भ्याम् (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the above. Thus राजन्+भ्याम्=राजभ्याम्, राजभिः, राजत्वं, राजता, राजतरः, राजतमः The न is elided by being pada.

Why do we say 'when not a Sarvanâmsthâna'? Observe राजन्+औ =राजानौ two kings. राजानः kings. The न is not elided.

यचि भम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ य्-अचि, भम्, (स्वादिष्वस॰)

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादावजादौ च स्वादौ सर्वनामस्थानवर्जिते प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं भसंज्ञं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नभोऽङ्गिरोमनुषां वत्युपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृषण्वस्वश्वयोः ॥

18. And when an affix, with an initial y or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanâmasthâna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

This debars the application of pada. Thus गर्ग+यञ् (IV. 1. 105)=गार्ग्यः a grandson of Garga. So also वात्स्यः. The affix yañ begins with a ya and the word garga being treated as Bha its final अ is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also दक्ष+इञ्=दाक्षिः (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha प्लाक्षिः. Here the affix इञ् begins with a vowel the word standing before it being Bha, it causes elision of the final अ of Daksha.

The word यचि is in the 7th case meaning when य् or अच् follow; and by the last *Vart* of Sûtra I 1. 72, it means 'when an affix beginning with ya or ach follow.'

Vart.—The words नभस्, अङ्गिरस् and मनुष् should be treated as Bha when the affix वत् follows. Thus नभस्वत् like the sky. अङ्गिरस्वत् like the Angiras, मनुष्वत् like the man. By being Bha, the स् is not changed into र्, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

Vart.—The words वृषन् is treated as Bha in the vedas when the words वसु and अश्व follow. Thus वृषण्वसुः ; वृषणश्वस्य मेने Here had the word vṛishan been treated as pada, the न would not have been changed into ण (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this न would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7.

तसौ मत्वर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त-सौ, मतु-अर्थे, (भम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारान्तं सकारान्तं शब्दरूपं मत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परतो भसंज्ञं भवति ॥

19. The word-form ending in t or in s is called Bha when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is' V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sûtra. Thus is the word उदश्वित्वत् having butter milk Nom. Sing. उदश्वित्वान् घोषः the herdsman having butter milk, विद्युत्वान् बलाहकः the cloud full of thunder. So also यशस्वी famous;

पयस्वी full of milk. Thus उदश्वित्+वतुप्=उदश्वित्वत्, यशस्+विनि (V. 2. 121)= यशस्विन्. By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is debarred in their case. That is to say the final त of udaśvit &c., and the स् of yaśas &c., are not changed into द and र respectively, which had they been pada words would have been the case by the action of Sûtra VIII. 2. 39, and VIII. 2. 66. *viz.*, उदश्विद्वत् and यशोर्विन् which are incorrect.

अयस्मयादीनि च्छन्दसि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अयस्मय-आदीनि, छन्दसि, (भम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस्मयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि च्छन्दसि विषये साधूनि भवन्ति ॥

20. Words like ayasmaya &c., are valid forms in the chhandas (veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to pada and Bha, show that they have been properly forced in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus अयस्+मय=अयस्मय made of iron. Here the word अयस् is treated as Bha and hence the स् is not changed into र. Thus अयस्मयं वर्म iron-made coat of mail. अयस्मयानि पात्राणि iron vessels. The present form of this word is अयोमयं. In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word ऋक्वत् formed by ऋच्+वत्, the च् is first changed into क् by treating the word rich as a pada. Then the word ऋक् is treated as bha, and therefore the क् is not changed into ग् before वत्. For had it been pada, the form would have been ऋग्वत् Rigvat. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus स सुष्टुभास ऋक्वता गणेन.

बहुषु बहुवचनम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुषु, बहु-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुषु बहुवचनम् भवति ॥

21. In expressing multeity, a Plural case affix is employed.

When it is intended to denote multeity those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus ब्राह्मणाः पठन्ति. The Brahmins read.

This rule applies to words which are capable of expressing numbers. Indeclinables (Avyaya) do not admit of numbers, and consequently they are always in singular number which is the general form.

द्व्येकयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-एकयोः, द्विवचन-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वित्वैकत्वयोरर्थयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने भवतः ॥

22. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

This is also clear. When duality is to be expressed, a dual case-affix should be employed, and in the case of unit, the singular case-affix. Thus ब्राह्मणौ पचतः the two Brahmins cook. ब्रह्मणः पचति the Brahmin cooks.

कारके ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ करके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारक इत्यधिकारो वेदितव्यः, यदित ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः कारक इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

23. The phrase 'kâraka' (meaning 'in the special relation to a word expressing an action') is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kâraka. Thus in 'cooking,' the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus 'Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnance for his master.' Here Rama is agent kâraka; 'food' is object kâraka; 'vessel' is a locative kâraka, fire is an instrumental kâraka, 'furnace' is the ablative kâraka and 'master' is the dative kâraka.

The word 'karaka' thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and the occasions that are required to complete an action will be kârakas. Out of the seven cases in which a sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kâraka to a verb

ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्रुवम्, अपाये, अपादानम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रुवं यदपाययुक्त मपाये साध्ये यदवधिभूतं तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जुगुप्साविरामप्रमादार्थानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apâdâna or Tablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apâdâna kâraka. Thus ग्रामादागच्छति he comes from the village. पर्वतादवरोहति he descends from the mountain. स्वार्थाद्धीनः lost his object. रथात् पतितः fallen from the chariot. The Apâdâna takes the 5th case-affix (II. 3 28) and the above examples show this. When therefore this relation is to be expressed, 'the fixed point (like grâma, purvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb, is called ablation.'

Vart.—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus :—अधर्माज्जुगुप्सते he dislikes injustice; अधर्माद्विरमति he ceases from injustice. धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति he neglects justice.

भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-त्रा-अर्थानाम्, भय-हेतुः, (कारके अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिभेत्यर्थानां त्रायत्यर्थानां च धातूनां प्रयोगे भयहेतुर्यस्तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

25. In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger' that from which the danger or fear procedes is called Apâdâna kâraka.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चौरेभ्यो बिभेति he is afraid of thieves, चौरेभ्य उद्विजते he is agitated because of the thieves. चौरेभ्यस्त्रायते or रक्षति. He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu) is put in the ablative case'? Observe अरण्ये बिभेति or त्रायते he fears or protects in the forest.

पराजेरसोढः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पराजेः, असोढः, (का० अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परापूर्वस्य जयतेः प्रयोगेऽसोढो योऽर्थः सोढुं न शक्यते तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

26. In the case of the verb parâji, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called Apâdana kâraka.

When the verb जि to conquer, with the preposition parâ has the sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराजयते he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe शत्रून् पराजयते he defeats the enemies.

वारणार्थानामीप्सितः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वारण-अर्थानाम्, ईप्सितः (का० अपादा०)

वृत्तिः ॥ वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे य ईप्सितोऽर्थः तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ।

27. In the case of verbs having the sense of 'preventing', the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called Ablation or Apâdana kâraka.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vâraṇa or prevention. As यवेभ्यो गां वारयति or निवर्तयति he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley.

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्तर्द्धौ येनादर्शन मिच्छति ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्द्धौ, येन, अदर्शनम्, इच्छति, (का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्द्धिनिमित्तं येनादर्शनमात्मनइच्छतितत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

28. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apâdâna kâraka.

Thus उपाध्यायादन्तर्धत्ते or निलीयते he conceals or hides from the teacher; so that the teacher may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् न दिदृक्षते he does not wish to see the thieves. Here the term chauran is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apâdâna kâraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

आख्यातोपयोगे ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ-ख्याता, उप-योगे, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपयोगे साध्ये य आख्याता तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apâdâna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word आख्याता means teacher, and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus उपाध्यायादधीते or आगमयति he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नटस्य शृणोति he hears the player.

जनिकर्त्तुः प्रकृतिः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि-कर्त्तुः, प्रकृतिः, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन्यर्थस्यजन्मनः कर्त्ता जायमानः तस्यया प्रकृतिः कारणं हेतुः तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan to be born, is called Apâdâna.

That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the

root jan is put in the ablative case. As शृङ्गाच्छरो जायते, the arrow is produced from horn. गोमयाद् वृश्चिको जायते the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

भुवः प्रभवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, प्रभवः, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूकर्तुः प्रभवो य स्तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

31. The source of the agent of the verb bhu, to become is called Apâdâna.

The phrase 'of the agent (karuth)' is understood here. The word प्रभव means the source or that from which anything arises. As हिमवतो गंगा प्रभवति the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas. काश्मीरेभ्यो वितस्ता प्रभवति. The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणा, यम्, अभिप्रैति, सः, संप्रदानम्, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणा, करणभूतेन कर्त्ता यमभिप्रैति तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाग्रहण मपि कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा वक्तव्या संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा ॥

32. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving, is called Sampradâna or recipient.

Though the word कर्मणा in the sûtra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb 'to give.'

As उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति he gives the cow to the teacher. माणवकाय भिक्षाम् ददाति he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

Vart :—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As श्राद्धाय निगर्हते he censures for the sake of Sraddha. युद्धाय सनह्यते he prepares for battle. पत्ये शेते she sleeps for her husband.

Vart:—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karaṇa) and the recipient (Sampradâna) is called object (karma).

Thus पशुना रुद्रं यजते or पशुं रुद्राय ददाति he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra, which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'

रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुचि-अर्थानाम्, प्रीयमाणः, (का० संप्रदानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ रुच्यर्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणो योऽर्थ स्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root ruch 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradâna or recipient.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word ruchi or 'liking' are रुच्यर्थ. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi. As देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः the sweet meat pleases Devadatta. यज्ञदत्ताय स्वदते ऽपूपः Yajnadatta likes Apupa. Here modaka is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि. Devadatta likes modak in the way. The word pathi being in the 7th case.

श्लाघह्नुङ्स्थाशपां ज्ञीप्स्यमानः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लाघ-ह्नुङ्-स्था-शपाम्, ज्ञीप्स्यमानः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लाघ ह्नुङ् स्था शप् इत्येतेषां ज्ञीप्स्यमानो योऽर्थ स्तत् कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

34. In the case of verbs ślâgh to praise, hnu to take away sthâ to stand, and śap to curse, the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, these actions, is called Sampradâna.

The word ज्ञीप्स्यमान means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As देवदत्ताय श्लाघते he praises Devadatta, *i.e.*, while praising Devadatta, he wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As देवदत्ताय ह्नुते he hides from (wishing that Devadatta should know of it) Devadatta, देवदत्ताय तिष्ठते she offers herself to Devadatta (for sexual embrace, wishing that he should know of it). देवदत्ताय शपते he reviles Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय श्लाघति पथि. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

धारेरुत्तमर्णः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धारेः, उत्तम-ऋणः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धारयतेः प्रयोगे उत्तमर्णो योऽर्थ स्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

35. In the case of the verb dhâri 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradâna.

The word उत्तमर्ण is compounded of two words उत्तम best and ऋण debt meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to अधमर्ण debtor. As देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति he owes hundred to Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय शतंधारयति ग्रामे he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village. Here village is in the Locative case.

स्पृहे रीप्सितः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृहेः, ईप्सितः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृह ईप्सायां, चुरादावदन्तः पठ्यते, तस्य इप्सितो योऽर्थस्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

36. In the case of the verb spṛih to desire, the thing desired is called Sampradâna kâraka.

The verb स्पृह to desire, belongs to the churâdi class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति he desires flowers, फलेभ्यः स्पृहयति he desires fruits.

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति he desires flowers in the forest. Here वने is in the Locative case.

क्रुधद्रुहेर्ष्यासूयार्थानां यं प्रतिकोपः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुह-ईर्ष्या-असूय-अर्थानां, यं, प्रतिकोपः (का० संप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधाद्यर्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रतिकोपस्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

37. In the case of the verbs having the sense of krudh to be angry, druh to injure, îrshyâ to envy, asûyâ to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called Sampradâna.

Krudh means non-tolerance, droha means doing wrong or hurt, îrshyâ jealousy; and asûya means to find out the faults of another. The word kopa includes all the above four sorts of actions. As देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यति द्रुह्यति ईर्ष्यति or असूयति he is angry upon, (*i. e.* with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds out the faults of Devadatta. Here Devadatta is in the Dative case.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus भार्यामीर्ष्यति he is jealous of his wife, *i.e.*, does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word bhâryâ is in the accusative case.

क्रुधद्रुहोरुपसृष्टयोः कर्म ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुहोः, उपसृष्टयोः, कर्म (का० यं प्रतिकोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधद्रुहोरुपसृष्टयोरुपसर्गसंबन्धयोर्यं प्रतिकोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

38. But in the case of the verbs krudh and druh, when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called karma karaka or object.

This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word upasrishta means having upasarga or preposition. As देवदत्तमभिक्रुध्यति अभिद्रुह्यति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यति.

राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधि-ईक्ष्योः, यस्य, विप्रश्नः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधेरीक्षेश्चकारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति कीदृशं यस्य विप्रश्नः, विविधः प्रश्नः, विप्रश्नः; स कस्य भवति यस्य शुभाशुभं पृच्छ्यते ॥

39. In the case of the verbs râdh, to propitiate, and îksh to look to, the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is called Sampradâna.

The word vipraśna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus देवदत्ताय राध्यति-ईक्षते गर्गः Garga is favorable to or looks to Devadatta, the sense is that being casually asked by Devadatta, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Devadatta.

Another explanation of this sûtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राध्नोति or ईक्षते वा गुरुः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्त्ता ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्भ्याम्, श्रुवः, पूर्वस्य, कर्त्ता (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिआङ् इत्येवं पूर्वस्य शृणोतेः कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति कीदृशं पूर्वस्य कर्त्ता ॥

40. In the case of the verb Śru preceded by the prepositions prati and âṅ; and meaning 'to promise' the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradâna.

The compound verb प्रतिश्रु and आश्रु means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case. As देवदत्ताय गां प्रतिशृणोति—आशृणोति he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनुप्रतिगृणश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-प्रति-गृणः, च, (का० संप्रदा० पूर्वस्य, कर्त्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य च गृणातेः कारकं पूर्वस्याः क्रियायाः कर्तृभूतं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

41. In the case of the verb gṛi, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating', the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradâna.

The phrase pûrvasya kartâ of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रे अनुगृणाति. They encourage the Hotri, *i.e.* the Hotri priest invokes first, the others then follow him in invocation and by so doing encourage him. The word अनुगरः and प्रतिगरः mean encouraging the invoker.

साधकतमं करणम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधकतमम्, करणम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियाप्रसिद्धौ यत् प्रकृष्टोपकारकं विवक्षितं तत्साधकतमं कारकं करणसंज्ञं भवति ॥

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karaṇa kâraka.

As दात्रेण लुनाति he cuts with the sickle. परशुना छिनत्ति he divides by the axe. The instrument कारक takes the third-case affix.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kârakâs, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां घोषः the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges. कूपे गर्गकुलम् the family of frogs in the well, *i.e.* on the sides of the well.

दिवः कर्म च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, कर्म, च, (का साधकतमम् करणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः साधकतमं यत्कारकं तत्कर्मसंज्ञं भवति चकारात् करणसंज्ञं च ॥

43. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb div to play, is called karma object, as well as karaṇa, Instrument.

The present sûtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sûtra is to indicate that karaṇa is also to be read into this. As अक्षान् दीव्यति or अक्षैः दीव्यति he plays the dice or with the dice.

परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्रयणे, संप्रदानम्, अन्यतरस्याम् (का० साधकतमं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्रयणे साधकतमं कारकमन्यतरस्यां संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb parikrî, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called Sampradâna or recipient.

This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word परिक्रयणे means to engage for a limited peried on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. As शताय परिक्रीतो ऽनुब्रूहि शतेन परिक्रीतो ऽनुब्रूहि.

ADHIKARANA.

आधारोऽधिकरणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आधारः, अधिकरणम्, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोः क्रियाश्रयभूतयोर्धारण क्रियां प्रति य आधारस्तत्कारकमधिकरण संज्ञं भवति ॥

45. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed by reason of the agent or the object being in that place is called Adhikarana or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called âdhâra. As कटे आस्ते he is seated on the mat. कटे शेते he is sleeping on the mat. स्थाल्यां पचति he cooks in the pot. The Adhikaraṇa takes the 7th case-affix.

अधिशीङ्स्थासां कर्म ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-शीङ्-स्था-आसाम्, कर्म, (का० आधारः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिपूर्वाणां शीङ् स्था आस् इत्येतेषा माधारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

46. That which is the site of the verbs śî to lie down, stha, to stand, âs to sit, when preceded by the preposition adhi, is however called karma kâraka or object.

This ordians accusative case, where otherwise by the last sûtra there would have been the Locative case. As ग्राममधिशेते अधितिष्ठति or अध्यास्ते he lies down, occupies or lies in the village.

अभिनिविशश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-नि-विशः, च, (का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिनिपूर्वस्य विशतेराधारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

47. That which is the site of the verb abhiniviś to enter, is also called karma-kâraka.

As ग्राममभिनिविशते he resorts to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sûtra 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिनिवेशः resorting to sin. कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhâsa.

उपान्वध्याङ्वसः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-अनु-अधि-आङ्-वसः, (का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उप अनु अधि आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वस्य वसतेराधारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसेरश्यर्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

48. That which is the site of the verb vas to dwell, when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and âṅ, is called karma-kâraka.

As ग्राममुपवसति सेना the army dwells in the village पर्वतमुपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or आवसति.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means "fasting," or does not denote lying in a locality. As ग्रामे उपवसति he fasts in the village. Here the verb upavasati governs the locative case and not the accusative.

KARMA.

कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, ईप्सिततमम्, कर्म, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तुः क्रियया यदाप्तुमिष्टतमं तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

49. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which is especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कटं करोति He makes the mat. ग्रामं गच्छति he goes to the village. Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe माषेष्व श्वं बध्नाति he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as the horse is not the agent of the verb, the word माष takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पयसौदनं भुङ्क्ते he eats the food along with the milk. Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sûtra by anuvritti from the last sûtra, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvritti of the word âdhâra does not extend to this sûtra, because as we do not take the anuvritti of the word karma into this sûtra, we do not take

the anuvritti of any word of the previous sûtra into this. Had we taken the anuvritti of the word karma from the last sûtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say गेहं प्रविशति he enters the house, we could not say ओदनं पचति he cooks the food, सक्तून् पिबति he drinks saktu. By repeating the word karma in this sûtra, such examples be come valid everywhere. The karma-kâraka, takes the second case-affix.

तथा युक्तं चानीप्सितम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तथा, युक्तम्, च, अनीप्सितम्, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन प्रकारेण कर्तुरीप्सिततमं क्रियया युज्यते तेनैव चेत् प्रकारेण यदनीप्सितं युक्तं भवति तस्य कर्मसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

50. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act becomes however similarly connected with the action it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anîpsita or object of aversion. Thus विषं भक्षयति he eats poison, चोरान् पश्यति. He sees the thieves. ग्रामम् गच्छन् वृक्षमूलान्युपसर्पति going to the village, he plucks the roots of the trees.

अकथितं च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकथितम्, च, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकथितं च यत्कारकं तत्कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

51. And that kâraka which is not spoken of as coming under any of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

There are some verbs in Sanskrit which take what is called an akathita object, in addition to their usual direct one. As its name indicates, it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way of any of the other case relations, such as अपादान अधिकरण &c. and is, therefore optional. If the noun capable of taking this akathita object be not intended for any other case, it is put in the Accusative case with such verbs; as, धेनुं दोग्धि पयः he milks the cow (her milk) व्रजमवरुणद्धि गां 'he confines the cow to the fold.' Here धेनुं and व्रजं are akathita or optional objects. If the speaker does not intend to have this object, the words will be put in their natural cases; as, धेन्वाः (ablative) पयोदोग्धि, व्रजे (locative) अवरुणद्धि गां.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned in the following kârikâ:—दुह्याच् पच् दण्ड् रुधि प्रच्छि चि ब्रू शासु जि मन्थ् मुषाम् ॥ कर्मयुक् स्यादकथितं तथा स्यान्नी हृ कृष् वहाम् ॥

In the case of the roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच् 'to cook,' दण्ड् 'to punish,' रुध् 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ् to ask,' चि 'to collect' ब्रू to tell शास् 'instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मन्थ् 'to churn' मुष् 'to steal,' and also in the case of नी, हृ, कृष्, and वह all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification, that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case; as, गां दोग्धि पयः (S. K.) 'he milks the cow'; बलिं याचते वसुधां. He begs the earth of Bali'; similarly तंडुलानोदनं पचति, गर्गाञ् शतं दण्डयति, व्रजमवरुणद्धि गां, माणवकं पंथानं पृच्छति, वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि, माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते-शास्ति वा, शतं जयति देवदत्तं, सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति, देवदत्तं शतं मुष्णाति; ग्राममजां नयति-हरति-कर्षति-वहति वा are examples of the other roots in order. माणवकं धर्मं भाषते वक्ति वा, बलिंवसुधां भिक्षते, तां तुवां संवरणस्यार्थे वरयामि विभावसो are instances of this kind of object, because भाष् or वाच् and भिक्ष् or वृ have the same meaning as ब्रू and याच्, the roots given in the Kâsikâ.

Obs.—The roots चि, मुष्, पच् मंथ्, रुध्, जि, कृष् हृ and ever वह् are of every rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in the classical literature, though given in the above list.

The roots mentioned above and others having the same sense, take two objects. One of them is principal, and the other, secondary. In the case of the first twelve roots from दुह् to मुष्, the nouns पयः, वसुधां, फलानि, सुधां, &c. are principal objects, and गां, बलिं, वृक्षं, क्षीरनिधिं &c. are secondary objects, for they can, according to the speaker's volition, be put in other cases. And in the case of the last four roots अजा, is the principal object and ग्रामं the secondary. Thus that which is necessarily put in the accusative case in order to complete the idea of the verb, is the principal object, and that which may be put in the Accusative case, depending upon the speaker's will, is called the secondary object.

गति बुद्धि प्रत्यवसानार्थशब्द कर्माकर्म काणा मणिकर्त्ता स णौ ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति-बुद्धि-प्रत्यवसान-अर्थ-शब्दकर्मा-कर्मकाणाम्, अणिकर्त्ता, सः, णौ (कारके कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां बुद्ध्यर्थानां प्रत्यवसानार्थानां च धातूनां तथाशब्द कर्मकाणा मकर्मकाणा ञ्च अण्यन्तानां यः कर्त्ता स ण्यन्तानां कर्मसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गत्यर्थेषु नी वह्योः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहेर नियन्तृ कर्तृकस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आदि खाद्योः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भक्षेर हिंसार्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'motion' 'knowledge or information' and 'eating,' and of verbs that have

some literary work for their object, and of intransitive verbs that which was the agent of the verb in its primitive (non-ṇi or non-causal state), is called the object (karma) in its causative state (when the verb takes the affix ṇi).

In the case of the roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL.
शत्रवः स्वर्गमगच्छन्	शत्रून् स्वर्गमगमयत्
स्वे वेदार्थमविदुः	स्वान् वेदार्थमवेदयत्
देवा अमृतमाश्नन्	देवान् अमृतमाशयत्
विधिर्वेदमध्यैत	विधिं वेदमध्यापयत्
पृथ्वी सलिले आस्त	पृथ्वीं सलिले आसयत्

But in गमयति रामो गोविन्दं (Rama makes Govind go) if some body else (विष्णु मित्र) prompts Ráma to do this, we shall have to say विष्णुमित्रो रामेण गोविन्दं गमयति 'Vishnu mitra prompts Ráma to cause Govind to go.' Here 'Ráma' is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Patanjali, in his Mahâbhâshya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शब्दकर्म in the sûtra गतिबुद्धि &c. शब्दकर्म may be either शब्दो येषां क्रिया or शब्दो येषां कर्म.

When we take the former interpretation, the roots ह्वयति (ह्वे) क्रन्दति (क्रन्द्) and शब्दायते (denom. of शब्द) have to be excluded from the rule; as, ह्वयति देवदत्तः ह्वाययति देवदत्तेन; क्रन्दति-शब्दायते-देवदत्तः; क्रन्दयति-शब्दाययति-देवदत्तेन. And the roots शृ, ज्ञा with वि and लभ् with उप must be included in the rule; as, शृणोति विजानाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तः श्रावयति-विज्ञापयति-उपलंभयति-देवदत्तम्. When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जल्प्, भाष् with आ and लप with वि, must be included in the rule; जल्पति-विलपति-आभाषते-देवदत्तः, जल्पयति-विलापयति-आभाषयति-देवदत्तं.

There are several exceptions and counter-exceptions to the preceding rule, which are important.

Vart:—The causals of नी 'to lead' and वह् 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. भृत्यो भारं नयति वहति वा A servant carries a load. भृत्येन भारं नाययति वाहयति वा (S. K.) (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

Vart.—But वह्, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as, वाहा रथं वहन्ति. Horses draw the chariot. वहंति यवान् बलीवर्दाः.

Vart.—(b). The causals of the roots अद् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern the Instrumental case; e. g. बटुरन्नमत्ति खादति वा. The boy eats his food. बटुनान्नमादयति खादयति वा. (He) causes the boy to eat his food.

Vart.—(c). भक्ष्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा 'injury to a sentient thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, भक्षयति पिंडीं देवदत्तः, भक्षयति पिंडीं देवदत्तेन; but भक्षयति यवान् बलीवर्दाः, भक्षयति बली वर्दान् यवान्.

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above is meant such roots as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is, quite evident; as, किंकरः पचरः पचति. Here पचति, though transitive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किंकरेण पाचयति and not किंकरं; but मासमासयति देवदत्तं.

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL ACTIVE.	CAUSAL PASSIVE.
रामो ग्रामं गच्छति.	रामं ग्रामं गमयति.	रामो ग्रामं गम्यते.
Râma goes to a village.	(He) causes Râma to go to a village.	Rama is caused to go &c.
भृत्यः कटं करोति.	भृत्येन भृत्यं वा कटं कारयति.	भृत्यः कटं कार्यते.
The servant prepares a mat.	(He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.	The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमास्ते.	गोविंदं मासमासयति.	गोविंदो मासमास्यते.
Govind sits for one month.	(He makes Govind sit &c.)	Govind is made to sit &c.

(*a*). But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa e. g. माणवकं धर्मं बोधयति 'he make Mananaka know his duty'; माणवको धर्मं बोध्यते or माणवकं धर्मो बोध्यते 'M, is made known his duty' or duty is made known to M.'; बटुमोदनं भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food: 'बटुरोदनं भोज्यते or बटुमोदनो भोज्यते (S. K.)

With regards to roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; *i.e.*, those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive Case, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वामनेन बलिं वसुधां याचते; (ईश्वरो) वामनेन बलिं

वसुधां याचयति '(God) makes Vâmana ask Bali for Earth.' गोपोऽजां नगरं हरति; (स्वामी) पोषं गोपेन वाजां नगरं हारयति. '(The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

हृ क्रोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृ-क्रोः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (का० अणि कर्त्ता स णौ कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेः करोतेश्चाण्यन्तयोर्यः कर्त्ता स ण्यन्तयो रन्यतरस्यां कर्मसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभिवादि दृशोरात्मनेपदे उपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. The agent of the verb in its non-ṇi (primitive) form in the case of hṛi to lose and kṛi to make, is optionally called karma or object when these verbs take the affix.

ṇi (CAUSAL).

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL.
As हरति. भारं माणवकः	हारयति भारं माणवकं or माणवकेन.
The boy takes the load.	He causes the servant to take the load.
करोतिकटं देवदत्तः	कारयति कटं देवदत्तं or देवदत्तेन.
Devadatta makes the mat.	He causes Devadatta to make the mat.

Vart.—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवद् and दृश् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or instrumental case in the causal; as,

PRIMITIVE,	CAUSAL.
अभिवदति गुरुंदेवदत्तः	अभिवादयते गुरुं or देवदत्तेन
Devadatta bows down to the Guru.	He makes Devadatta bow down to the Guru.
पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम्.	दर्शयते भृत्यान् राजानं or दर्शयते भृत्यैः.
The servants see the king.	He makes the servants see the king

KARTRI.

स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता । (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रिया प्रसिद्धौ स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्षयते तत्कारकं कर्तृसंज्ञं भवति ॥

54. Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartâ or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as देवदत्तः पचति Devadatta cooks. स्थाली पचति the pot cooks.

तत् प्रयोजको हेतुश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रयोजकः, हेतुः, च, (का० स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजको योऽर्थः तत्कारकं हेतुसंज्ञं भवति चकारात् कर्तृसंज्ञं च ॥

55. That which is the mover thereof, i. e., of the independent source of action, is called Hetu or cause, as well as kartâ or agent.

Thus कारयति he causes to be made, हारयति he causes to be taken. When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. 1. 26).

The force of the word च is to give both names to the mover of an agent, *viz.*, Hetu and kartâ; otherwise by sûtra 1 of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipâta.

THE PARTICLES.

* प्राग्रीश्वरान्निपाताः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्, रीश्वरात्, निपाताः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिरीश्वर इति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मादवधेर्यानित ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः निपात संज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

56. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhirîśvare (I. 4. 97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipâta or Particles.

The word प्राक् of this sûtra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapravachnîya take two names, *i.e.*, their one name as well as the name Nipâta. The letter र in प्राग्रीश्वरात् is to remove doubt, *i.e.*, aphorism I. 4. 97 should be taken as limit and not sûtra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswari also.

चादयो ऽसत्वे ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-आदयः असत्वे, (निपता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादयो निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति न चेत्सत्वे वर्त्तन्ते ॥

57. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipâta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipâta) च 'and' वा 'or' ह 'an expletive' अह 'vocative particle' एव 'only' exactly.' एवम् 'so thus,' नूनम् 'certainly,' शश्वत् 'continually,' युगपत् 'at once,' भूयस् 'repeatedly,' सूपत् कूपत् 'excellently,' कुवित् 'abundantly,' नेत् चेत् 'if' चण 'if,' [the ṇ is indicatory], यत्र where,' तत्र 'there,' कच्चित् 'what if ?,' नह 'no,' हन्त 'ah,'! माकिम् [माकीम्] नकिम् 'do not,' आकीम् 'indeed !' माङ् 'do not,' नञ् 'not,' यावत् 'as much as,' तावत् 'so much,' त्वै न्वै द्वै 'perhaps,' रै (disrespectful interjection) श्रौषट् वौषट्

स्वाहा (interj.) 'oblation to the gods,' स्वधा 'oblation to the manes,' forefathers वषट् 'oblation to the gods,' ओम् (mystical ejaculation typical of the three great deities of the Hindu mythology), हुम् 'thouing,' तथाहि 'thus,' introducing an exposition, (खलु 'certainly,' किल 'indeed,' अथ 'now' auspicious inceptive), सुष्ठु 'excellent,' स्म (attached to the present tense gives it a past signification), अदह 'fie' अ इ उ ऋ ऌ ए ऐ ओ औ. The vowels a, â, i, î, u, û, e, ai, o, au, when, as interjections, they indicate various emotions, differ from the ordinary vowels.

उम्, उकम्, बेलायाम्, मात्रायाम्, यथा. यत्, तत्, किम्, पुरा, वधा, (वध्वा), धिक्, हाहा, हैहै, (हहे), पाट्, प्याट्, आहो, उताहो, हो, अहो, नो, (नौ), अथो, ननु, मन्ये, मिथ्या, असि, ब्रुहि तु, नु, इति, इव, वत्, वात्, चन, वत, [सम, वयम्, शिकम्, दिकम्,] सनुकम्, छम्बट्, (छंबट), शंके, शुकम्, खम्, सनात्, सनुतर्, नहिकम्, सत्यम्, ऋतम्, अद्धा, इद्धा, नोचेत्, नचेत्, नहि, जातु, कथम्. कुतः, कुत्र, अव, अनु, हा, हे, (है), आहोस्वित्, शम्, कम्, खम्, दिष्ट्या, पशु, वट्, सह,, (अनुषट्), आनुषक्, अङ्ग, फट्, ताजक्, (भाजक), अये, अरे, चाट्, (चाटु), कुम्, खुम्, घुम् अम्, ईम्, सीम्, सिम्, सिः, वै .

To the list of indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an upasarga (No.59), of a word with one of the terminations of case or persons and of the vowels. In the example अवदत्तम् avadattam 'given away,' the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word (by VII. 4. 47) would be अवत्तम् avattam. In the example ahanyuh अहंयुः 'egotistic,' the ahañ is not identical with the aham 'I,' terminating in a case affix—because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the nominative case, could not be the first member, in such a compound. In the example अस्तिक्षीरा astikshîrâ, a cow or the like 'in which there is milk,' the asti अस्ति must be regarded as differing from the word asti, 'is,' which ends with the affix of the third person singular, otherwise it could not have appeared as the first member in a compound.

प्रादयः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-आदयः, (निपाता असत्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयो ऽसत्वे निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

58. The words pra &c, are called Nipâta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions:' प्र, परा, अप, सम्, अनु, अव, निस्, दुस्, वि, आङ्, नि, अधि, अपि, अति, सु, उत्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the Pra &c., words two names, namely, those of Nipâtas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, *i. e.*, when they are in composition with verbs. Not so however the châ &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signifying substances they are not Nipâtas. As परा जयति सेना the excellent army conquers. Here the word परा is not a Nipâta.

उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गाः, क्रिया-योगे (प्रादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयः क्रिया योगे उपसर्ग संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मरुच्छब्दस्य चोपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रच्छब्दस्योप संख्यानम् ॥

59. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As प्र+नयति=प्रणयति. Here the dental न is changed into cerebral ण, because of the प्र getting the designation of upasarga (See sûtra VIII. 4. 14). Similarly परिणयति, प्रणायकः, परिणायकः.

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called upasargas. As प्रगतो नायकोऽस्माद् देशात् =प्रनायकोदेशः a country destitute of a leader. Here न is not changed into ण. Thus while प्रणायकः means ‘a leader’ the term प्रनायकः means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements:—pra in one is an upasarga, in the other a Nipâta pure and simple.

Vart:—The word मरुत् should be included in the list of upasargas. As मरुद्भिर्दत्तः=मरुत्तः given by Marut. मरुत्+दा+क्त=मरुत्+द्+त (VII. 4. 47.) Here Marut being treated as an upasarga, though it does not end with a vowel, the दा is replaced by त by rule VII. 4. 47 which declares त the substitute of दा which is called ghu when it is preceded by an upasarga that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with त which has an indicatory k.'

It might be objected, that as मरुत् does not end with a vowel, sûtra VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of upasarga to मरुत् is superfluous; and in order that this should not be so, the fact of its not ending with a vowel, is overlooked.

Vart:—The particle श्रत् should be included in the list of upasargas. Thus श्रत्+धा+अङ्=श्रद्धा (III. 3. 106). Here because श्रत् is treated as an upasarga, that sûtra III. 3. 106 is made applicable.

गतिश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, च, (प्रादयः क्रियायोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिसंज्ञकाश्च प्रादयो भवन्ति क्रियायोगे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कारिका शब्दोप संख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि गतिसंज्ञौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

60. The words pra &c., are called also Gati, when in composition with a verb.

As प्रकृत्य, Now the gerund of the simple root कृ would have been कृत्वा, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the त्वा is replaced by ल्यप् see II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. प्र+कृ+ल्यप्=प्रकृत्वा (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compounding by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply VII. 1. 37. Similarly प्रकृतम्. Here pra being a gati word retains its own accent by rule VI. 2. 49. 'a gati retains in a compound its own accent when it immediately precedes a second member that ends in kta, provided the latter denotes the object of the action which is expressed by the root to which kta is added.'

Similarly प्रकरोति, here pra being treated as gati gets annudâtta accent by rule VIII. 2. 71,

The yoga-vibhâga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The annuvṛitti of gati only runs through the latter sûtras and not of upasarga. So that while pra &c., have two names upasarga and gati; uri &c., have only one name, namely, gati.

Thus in प्रणीतम् and अभिषिक्तम्, by treating the words प्र and अभि as upasargas we change the न and स into ण and ष by rule VIII. 4. 14 and VIII. 3. 87; and again treating them as gati we regulate the accent.

Vart.—The words कारिका should be included in the list of Gati. As (1) कारिकाकृत्य (2) कारिकाकृतम् (3) यत्कारिका करोति. In the first by taking it as gati we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and ल्यप् (VII. 1. 37) The other two cases illustrate accent.

Vart:—The words पुनर् and चनस् are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As पुनरुत्स्यूतंवासो देयम्. Here the word पुनर् being gati, causes स्यूतं to take annudâtta accent (VIII. 1. 70) चनोहितः. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

ऊर्यादि च्विडाचश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरी-आदि च्वि-डाचः, च, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्यादयः शब्दाः च्व्यन्ता डाजन्ताश्च क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with ḍâch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhû, kṛi or as) are called Gati.

The affixes chvi and ḍâch are ordained when the verb in composition is either कृ, भू or अस् (V. 4. 50 and 57) ûri &c., being read along with chvi and ḍâch, shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else; in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati.

The words ऊरी and उररी mean to assent and spread. As ऊरीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) ऊरीकृतम् (VI. 2. 49), यदूरीकरोति (VIII. 2. 71). So with the word उररी. The following is a list of these words :—

पापी.	धूसी.	भंशकला.	फली.
ताली.	शकला.	गुलुगुधा.	विक्ली.
आताली.	संशकला.	सजूः	आक्ली.
वेताली.	ध्वंसकला.	फलू.	

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुक्लीकृत्य having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in डाच् as पटपटाकृत्य having made the sound pat.

अनुकरणं चानितिपरम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुकरणम्, च; अनिति-परम्, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुकरणमनिति परम् क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

62. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrihi compound; अन्-इति-परम्=' that which has not the word इति after it '

As खाट्कृत्य having made the sound khât. खाट्कृतम् (VI. 2. 49), यत्खाट्-करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खाडितिकृत्वा निरष्ठीवत्.

आदरानादरयोः सदसती ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदर-अनादरयोः, सद्-असती, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदरा नादरयो र्यथाक्रमं सदसच्छब्दौ गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

63. The words sat and asat when in composition with a verb are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As सत्कृत्य having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) असत्कृत्य, सत्कृतम् or असत्कृतम् (VI. 2. 49) यत् सत् करोति or यदसत् करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe सत्कृत्वा काण्डं गतः.

भूषणेऽलम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूषणे, अलम्, (क्रि० गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूषणे यो ऽलम् शब्दः स गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

64. The word alam when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings:—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament. As अलंकृत्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37); अलंकृतं (VI. 2. 49). यदलंकरोति (VIII. 2. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have अलं भुक्त्वा व्रजति he goes having eaten enough.

अन्तरपरिग्रहे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्-अपरि-ग्रहे, (क्रि०, गतिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तः शब्दोऽपरिग्रहे ऽर्थे गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्तः शब्दस्या ङ्किविधि णत्वेषूपसर्गसंज्ञा वक्तव्या ॥

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

The word परिग्रह means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिग्रह means therefore the opposite of this namely 'rejecting,' abandoning. As अन्तर्हत्य गृहं गतः he went away having abandoned home; अन्तर्हतमनृतम् falsehood being abandoned. यदन्त र्हन्ति.

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe अन्तर्हत्वा मूषिकां श्येनोगतः the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

Vart.—The word अन्तर् is treated as an upsarga for the purpose of the application of the following rules; III. 3. 106 by which अङ् is added; rule III. 3. 92 by which कि is added; the rule VIII. 4. 14 by which न is changed into ण. As अन्तर्द्धा, अन्तर्द्धिः and अन्तर्णयति.

कणेमनसी श्रद्धाप्रतीघाते ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कणे-मनसी, श्रद्धा-प्रती-घाते, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कणेशब्दो मनस्शब्दश्च श्रद्धा प्रतीघाते गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

66. The words kane and manas are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of reaction by satiation.'

The word श्रद्धा-प्रतीघात means 'satisfaction of desire.' As कणेहत्य पयः पिबति he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied ? So also मनोहत्य पयः पिबति. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (श्रद्धा) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have कणे or मनोहत्वागतः he went away satisfied

पुरो ऽव्ययम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरः, अव्ययम्, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असिप्रत्ययान्तः पुरः शब्दोऽव्ययं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

67. The word puraḥ in front of, when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

The pronoun पूर्व 'front' with the affix असि forms पुरस्, and by I. 1. 38 it becomes an Avyaya. (See V. 3. 39 pur being snbstituted for pûrva). The object by making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 (3) to change the : ḥ into स् by VIII. 3. 40. As पुरस्कृत्य, पुरस्कृतम् and यत् पुरस्करोति, when not an indeclinable we have पूः, पुरौ, पुरः कृत्वा काण्डंगतः.

अस्तं च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तम्, च, (गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तं शब्दो मकारान्तोऽव्ययमनुपलब्धौ वर्तते स गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

68. And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word अस्तम् is an indeclinable as it ends in म् (I, 1. 39); and means 'not visible.' As अस्तंगत्य सविता पुनरुदेति the sun having set, rises again अस्तंगतानि धनानि riches that have vanished. यदस्तं गच्छति, when not an indeclinable it is not gati as अस्तं काण्डम् the arrow has been thrown.

अच्छ गत्यर्थवदेषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्छ, गति-अर्थ-वदेषु, (गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच्छशब्दोऽव्ययमभिशब्दस्यार्थे वर्तते, स गत्यर्थेषु धातुषु वदतौ च गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

69. The indeclinable word achchha, meaning 'before in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word अच्छ is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अभि. As अच्छगत्य, अच्छगतम्, and यदच्छगच्छति. So also अच्छोद्य अच्छोदितम् and यदच्छवदति when not an Avyaya, we have उदकमच्छं गच्छति.

अदो ऽनुपदेशे ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदस्, अनुपदेशे, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदः शब्दो ऽनुपदेशे गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

70. The word adas 'that' is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadeśa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadeśa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As अदः कृत्य, अदः कृतम् and यददः करोति when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have अदः कृत्वा काण्डं गतः

तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरः, अन्तर्द्धौ, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्द्धिर्व्यवधानम्, तत्रतिरः शब्दो गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

71. The word tiras when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोभूय. तिरोभूतम् and यत् तिरोभवति why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थितः *i.e.,* standing apart.

विभाषाकृञि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृञि, (गतिः अन्तर्द्धौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरः शब्दः करोतौ परतो विभाषा गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

72. The word tiras meaning 'disappearance' is optionally called gati, when the verb kṛi follows.

This is an example of प्राप्त-विभाषा. As तिरः कृत्य or तिरस्कृत्य (VIII. 3. 42): तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into स is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति he stands having laid aside the stick.

उपाजेऽन्वाजे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाजे-अन्वाजे, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपाजेऽन्वाजेशब्दौ विभक्ति प्रतिरूपकौ निपातौ दुर्बलस्य सामर्थ्याधाने वर्त्तेते तौ कृञि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

73. The words upâje and anvâje both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kṛi.

As उपाजे कृत्य or उपाजे कृत्वा having given support. अन्वाजे कृत्य or अन्वाजे कृत्वा.

साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ साक्षात्, प्रभृतीनि, च, (गतिः विभाषा कृञि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि कृञि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतिषु च्व्यर्थ वचनम् ॥

74. The words sâkshât, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kṛi.

Vart :—In the words साक्षात् &c. the force of the affix च्वि is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before, As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्वा मिथ्याकृत्य मिथ्याकृत्वा making evident what was concealed before.

अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनत्याधाने, उरसि-मनसी, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनत्याधानं उपश्लेषणं तदभावे ऽनत्याधाने उरसिमनसी शब्दौ विभाषा कृञि-गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

75. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati when the verb kṛi follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्वा ; मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्वा. When it has the sense of placing we have उरसिकृत्वा पाणिं शेते he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, मनसिकृत्वा वचनं ध्यायति he ponders having placed the word in his mind.

मध्ये पदे निवचने च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्ये पदे, निवचने, च, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः अनत्याधाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्ये पदे निवचने इत्येते शब्दा, अनत्याधाने विभाषा कृञि गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

76. And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kṛi follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा. पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा ; निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा.

But when it has the meaning of placing we have हस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा शिरः शेते he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

नित्यं हस्ते पाणावुपयमने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, हस्ते-पाणौ उपयमने (गतिः कृञि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्ते पाणौ इत्येतौ शब्दौ कृञि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञौ भवत उपयमने ॥

77. The word haste 'in the hand,' pâṇau 'in the hand' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kṛi in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाणौ कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य having married. But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापणं गतः he went out having taken in his hand a kârshâpana (a coin).

प्राध्वं बन्धने ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राध्वम्, बन्धने, (गतिः कृञि नित्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राध्वमिति मकारान्तमव्ययमानुकूल्ये वर्त्तते, तदानुकूल्यं बन्धनहेतुकं यदा भवति तदाप्राध्वंशब्दः कृञि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

78. The indeclinable word prâdhvam followed by the verb kṛi, is always called gati when used in the sense of 'binding.'

The word प्राध्वम् ends in म् and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a gati: as, प्राध्वंकृत्य having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have:—प्राध्वं कृत्वा शकटं गतः having made the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीविका-उपनिषदौ, औपम्ये, (गतिः कृञि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीविका उपनिषदित्येतौ शब्दौ औपम्ये विषये कृञि गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

79. The words Jîvikâ and upanishad followed by the verb kṛi are called gati when used in the sense 'of likeness or resemblance.'

As जीविकाकृत्य having made it as if it was a means of living; उपनिषत्-कृत्य—having made it like an upanishad. But जीविकां कृत्वा गतः having made his livelihood he is gone.

ते प्राग्धातोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, प्राग्, धातोः, (गतिः उपसर्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ते गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः धातोः प्राक् प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

80. The particles called gati and upasarga are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are prefixes).

The word ते has been employed to include the term उपसर्ग also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.

छन्दसि परेऽपि ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, परे, अपि, (गतिः उपसर्ग प्रा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये गत्युपसर्ग संज्ञका; परेऽपि पूर्वेऽपि प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

81. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are employed indifferently after the verbal root as well as before it.

As,—वायविन्द्रश्च सुन्वत आयातमुपनिष्कृतम् ॥ मक्षिवत्या धिया नरा (Rig. I. 2. 6).

In this we have आयातमुप instead of उपायतम् 'vayu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.'

व्यवहिताश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहिताः, च, (ग० उ० छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहिताश्च गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः छन्दसि दृश्यन्ते ॥

82. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As:— इन्द्र वायू इमे सुता उप प्रयोभिरागतम् ॥ इन्दवो वा मुशन्तिहि (Rig. I. 2. 4). "Indra and vâyu, here are soma—libations for you. Approach, ye with pleasures for us. For the libations are desiring you." Here उप is separated from the word आगत by the intervening word प्रयोभिः.

KARMA PRAVACHANIYA.

कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानित ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

83. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachanîya.

These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As सुस्तुतं भवता well praised by you, सु सिक्तं भवता you have sprinkled. Here सु is a karma pravachanîya and qualifies the sense of the verb, *i. e.* it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so, it would have changed the स into ष (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma pravachanîya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, टि, घि, घु &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karmapravachanîya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called.

अनुर्लक्षणे ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः लक्षणे, (कर्मप्रवचनीयाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशब्दो लक्षणे द्योत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

84. The word anu when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachanîya.

The word lakshaṇa means a sign; an attendant circumstance an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' 'because of, or being indicated by.' As जपमनु प्रावर्षत् it rained

after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other words, anu is a karmapravachnîya when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

So also शाकलस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षत् = शाकल्येन सुकृतां संहितामनुनिशम्य देवः प्रावर्षत्. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Śâkalya. The force of a karmapravachanîya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example संहितां is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनिशम्य understood.

So also अनडुद् यज्ञमन्वसिंचत्. The Taurus sprikled water after the sacrifice, अगस्त्यमन्वसिंचन् प्रजाः the people began sprinkling water after the rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this sûtra, when अनु would have been called karma pravachanîya even by force of sûtra 90 following, where also the word lakshaṇa occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the karmapravachanîyas should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in expressing हेतु (II. 3. 23). Otherwise Rule 23rd of the third chapter of Book II would have set aside Rule 8 of the same by the maxim of परत्व I. 3. 2; and would have caused a karama pravachanîya to govern an Instrumental case where the sense was that of hetu.

तृतीयार्थे ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-अर्थे, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशब्द स्तृतीयार्थे द्योत्ये कर्मवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥*

85. The word anu is karma-pravachanîya when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or along with. As नदीमनु अवसिता सेना the army lying along side the river. पर्वतमनु अवसिता सेना lying along the slopes of the mountain.

हीने ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हीने, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हीने द्योत्येऽनुः कर्म प्रवचनीय संज्ञो भवति ॥

86. The word anu is karma-pravachanîya when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

The word हीन means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुशाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śâkatâyana.'

उपोधिके च ॥ ८७ ॥ उप, अधिके, च, (हीने कर्म प्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपशब्दः अधिके हीने च द्योत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

87. The word upa when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachaniya.

That is when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as उप खार्यां द्रोणः a Drona is above a khâri. उप निष्के कार्षापणः a karshapaṇa is more than a Nishka. In this sense उप governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3. 9). So also उप शाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śâkatâyana.' In this sense उप governs the accusative case.'

अप परी वर्जने ॥ ८८ ॥ अप-परी, वर्जने, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परी शब्दौ वर्जनेद्योत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

88. The words apa and pari are karma-pravachaniya when meaning 'exclusion.'

The force of अप and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As अपत्रिगर्त्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta. So also परि त्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टोदेवः. In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not karma-pravachaniya. As ओदनं परिषिञ्चति. He waters the rice. Here it is an upasarga, and hence changes the स into ष.

आङ् मर्यादा वचने ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मर्यादा-वचः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् इत्येपशब्दः मर्यादावचने कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

89. The word âṅ as far as, is karma-pravachaniya when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or, 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As आपाटलिपुत्राद् वृष्टो देवः it rained as far as (but excluding) Pâtaliputra आपाटलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देवः it rained as far as (including) Pâtaliputra आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः आसंकाश्यात्, अमथुरायाः when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.

लक्षणेत्थम्भूताख्यानभागवीप्सासुप्रति पर्यनवः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षण-इत्थभूताख्यान-भाग-वीप्सासु, प्रति-परि-अनवः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे इत्थंभूताख्याने भागे वीप्सायां च विषयभूतायां प्रति परि अनु इत्येते कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

90. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaníya when used in the sense of 'sign' (in the direction of) 'mere statement of circumstance' ('as regards') 'division' 'share of' and 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) वृक्षं प्रति-परि or अनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.' (2) साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति—परि=अनु 'Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.' (3) हरं प्रति हलाहलं 'the poison fell to the share of Hara.' यदत्रमां प्रति स्यात् that it may fall to my share. So with परि and अनु. (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिञ्चति he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and अनु.

अभिरभागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिः, अभागे (लक्षण इत्थंभूताख्या॰ कर्मप्र॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणादिष्वेव भागवर्जितेऽवभिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

91. The word abhi is karma-pravachaníya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, 'share of.'

The illustrations given under the last sûtra mutus mutandi apply here also, with the exception of those given under head (4). As वृक्षमभि विद्योतते; मातरमभि &c. But it is not karma-pravachaníya when भाग is meant, भाग means the share which is allotted to one as his own. As यदत्रममाभि ष्यात् तद् दीयताम् give that which falls here to my share. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore स of स्य is changed into ष.

प्रतिः प्रतिनिधि प्रतिदानयोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिः, प्रतिनिधि-प्रतिदानयोः, (कर्मप्र॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिनिधिविषये प्रातिदाने विषये च प्रतिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

92. The word prati is karma-pravachaníya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि. Giving in return for what is obtained, is प्रतिदान. As अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति Abhi-manyu is the representative of Arjuna. माषानस्मै तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति he exchanges Mâshâs for these sesamum. In these senses prati governs the Ablative (II. 3. 11.)

अधिपरी अनर्थकौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-परी, अनर्थकौ, (कर्मप्र॰) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि परी शब्दौ अनर्थकौ अनर्थान्तरवाचिनौ कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

93. The words adhi and pari are karma-pravachanîya when used as mere expletives.

As कुतोऽध्यागच्छति whence has he come? or कुतः पर्यागच्छति. These words though mere surplusages, have been called karmapravachanîya so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

सुः पूजायाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुः, पूजायाम्, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु शब्दः पूजायामर्थे कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

94. The word su is karma-pravachanîya in the sense of respect, (when it means 'excellently').

As सुसिक्तं भवता, सु स्तुतं भवता excellently sprinkled by your honor. Well praised by your honor. By not being an upasarga, it does not change the स into ष (VIII. 3. 65).

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुषिक्तं किं तवात्र has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

अतिरतिक्रमणे च ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतिः, अति क्रमणे, च, (कर्मप्र० पूजायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति शब्दः अतिक्रमणे चकारात् पूजायां च कर्म प्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

95. The word ati in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma-pravachanîya.

The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाम् from the last. As अतिसिक्तमेव भवता. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, अतिस्तुतमेव भवता so also अतिस्तुतं भवता excellently praised by your honor. अति सिक्तं भवता.

अपिः पदार्थ संभावनान्ववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपिः, पदार्थ-संभावन-अन्ववसर्ग-गर्हा-समुच्चयेषु (कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदार्थे संभावने अन्ववसर्गे गर्हायां समुच्चये च वर्तमानः अपिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

96. The word api is karma-pravachanîya, when it implies, the sense of word understood ('somewhat') or possibility (e. g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').

The word पदार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् there may be perhaps a drop of ghee मधुनोऽपि स्यात्. Here some word like vindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little' mâtrâ 'a measure &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन means possibility, a supposition. As, अपि सिंचेत् मूलकसहस्त्रं क्षणेनैकेन possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; अपि स्तुयाद् राजानं he may praise possibly, a king. In the above cases it is used with the potential mood. अन्ववसर्ग means indifference on the part of the speaker where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अपि सिंच you may sprinkle if you like. अपि स्तुहि you may praise if you like. The word गर्हा means censure, contempt or reproof. As धिग्जाल्मं देवदत्तमपि सिंचेत् पलाण्डुम्. The word समुच्चय means cumulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिंच praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into ष.

अधिरीश्वरे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिः, ईश्वरे । (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरः स्वामी सच स्वमपेक्षत । तदयं स्वस्वामि संबन्धः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

97. The word adhi is karmapravachanîya when used in the sense of "lord" ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word adhi governs a Locative case. Sometimes locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पंचालाः or अधि पंचालेषु ब्रह्मदत्तः. Brahmadatta rules over Panchâlas.

विभाषा कृञि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृञि कर्मप्र० अधिः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिः करोतौ विभाषा कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

98. The word adhi is optionally karma pravachanîya when the verb kṛi follows.

As यदत्र मामधि करिष्यति. Here the word अधि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मप्रवचनीय. When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71; otherwise not.

लः परस्मैपदम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लः, परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लादेशाः परस्मैपदसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

99. The substitutes of ल are called parasmaipada.

The word लः is in the genitive case, and means 'of ल.' The word आदेश 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term ल is a generic word for verb in general, *viz.*, लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लेट्, लोट्, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्. The substitutes of ल are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following.

PARASMAIPADA.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st Pers.	मिप्	वस्	मस्
2nd Pers.	सिप्	थस्	थ
3rd Pers.	तिप्	तस्	झि

And the affixes शतृ and क्वसु (III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78).

तङानावात्मनेपदम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ तङ्-आनौ आत्मनेपदम्, (लः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण परस्मैपदसंज्ञायां प्राप्तायां तङानयोरात्मनेपदसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

100. The nine affixes comprised under the Pratyâhâra tañ and the two ending in âna (Sânach and Kânach), which are substitutes of ल are called Atmanepada.

The following are the Atmanepada affixes :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st	इट्	वहि	महिङ्
2nd	थास्	आथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd	त	आताम्	झ

And the affixes शानच् and कानच् (III. 2. 106).

तिङस्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथम मध्यमोत्तमाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङः, त्रीणि, त्रीणि, प्रथम, मध्यम, उत्तमाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङोऽष्टादश प्रत्ययाः नव परस्मैपद संज्ञकाः नवात्मनेपदसंज्ञकाः तत्रपरस्मैपदेषु त्रयस्त्रिकाः यथाक्रमम् प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति । आत्मने पदेष्वपि त्रयास्त्रिकाः प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

101. The three triads in both the sets Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, of conjugational affixes (comprised under the general name tiṅ, a pratyâhâra formed of the first and last of them, *viz.*, tip and mahiṅ) are called, in order, Lowest (3rd person of European Grammar,) the middle (2nd person), and the highest (1st person).

Of the 19 conjugational affixes, above given ; 9 are Parasmaipadi and 9 are Atmanepadi. Each of these two classes is subdivided into three classes, according to person, as shown in the above list.

तान्येकवचन द्विवचन वहुवचनान्येकशः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तानि, एकवचन-द्विवचन-वहुवचनानि एकशः, (त्रीणि २) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तान्येकवचन द्विवचन वहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति एकशः एकैकं पदम् ॥

102. These three triads of conjugational affixes, which have received the names of Lowest &c, are called (as regard the three expressions in each triad) severally "the expression for one" (singular) "the expression for two" (dual), and "the expression for many" (plural).

Of the six triads thus formed, each is divided according to number into three classes, *viz.*, singular, dual, and plural.

सुपः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, (त्रीणि २ एकवचन द्विवचन वहुवचनानि एकशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपश्च त्रीणि त्रीणि पदानि एकश एकवचन द्विवचन वहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

103. Of sup (which is a Pratyâhâra formed of su the first of the case affixes and the final p of the last of them) the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

The sup or the case-affixes by which nouns are declined are 21 in number corresponding to the seven cases, see sûtra IV. 1. 2. They also have three numbers singular, dual and plural.

विभक्तिश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभक्तिः, च, (त्रीणि २ सुपः तिङ;) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रीणि त्रीणि विभक्ति संज्ञाश्च भवन्ति सुपस्तिङश्च ॥

104. The traids of conjugational affixes and case affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सप्तमी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, *i.e.*, the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः ॥१०५॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदि, उपपदे, समान-अधिकरणे, स्थानिनि, अपि, मध्यमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदुपपदे सति व्यवहिते चाव्यवहिते सति समानाधिकरणे समानाभिधेये तुल्यकारके स्थानिनि प्रयुज्यमानेऽप्यप्रयुज्यमानेऽपि मध्यम पुरुषो भवति ॥

105. When the pronoun yushmad, "thou" understood, and also when the same expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the middle (2nd person).

This defines the 2nd person of conjugational affixes. As त्वं पचसि thou cookest or पचसि; युवां पचथः or पचथः you two are cooking; यूयं पचथ or पचथ you cook.

प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहासे, च, मन्य-उपपदे, मन्यतेः, उत्तमः, एकवत्, च, (मध्यमः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रहासे गम्यमाने मन्योपपदे धातो मध्यमपुरुषो भवति, मन्यतेश्चोत्तमः स चैकवद्भवति ॥

106. When joke is implied with reference to an action, the verb denoting it is used in the 2nd person; provided that the word manya 'to think' is the attendant word (upapada) of such verb, and of the verb manya itself, the affix must be of the 1st person and singular number.

The word प्रहास means joke, sport. As एवं मन्ये ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे इति; नहि भोक्ष्यसे, भुक्तः सोऽतिथिभिः. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि नहि यास्यसि, यातस्तेन ते पिता. I think thou wilt go by the chariot, no, thou wilt not, thy father has gone before thee on it. When joke is not intended, the proper persons should be used: as, एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

अस्मद्युत्तमः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदि, उत्तमः, (उपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मद्युपपदे समानाभिधेये प्रयुज्यमाने प्यप्रयुज्यमाने ऽपि उत्तमपुरुषो भवति ॥

107. When the pronoun asmad "I," understood and also when expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the Highest or the 1st person.

This is clear. As अहं पचामि I cook, or merely पचामि-आवां पचावः or merely पचावः.

शेषे प्रथमः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे प्रथमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्र युष्मदस्मदी समानाधिकरणे उपपदेन स्तः तत्रशेषे प्रथमपुरुषो भवति ॥

108. In the other cases, namely where, "thou" or "I" are not the attendant words in agreement with the verb, there is the verbal termination called the Lowest (or 3rd person).

As पचति he cooks, पचतः they two cook. पचन्ति they cook.

परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः संनिकर्षः, संहिता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परो यः संनिकर्षो वर्णाना मर्द्धमात्राकालव्यवधानं स संहितासंज्ञो भवति ॥

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a mâtrâ or prosodial length between them, is called contact or sanhitâ.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As दध्यत्र=दधि+अत्र,

विरामोऽवसानम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विरामः अवसानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विरति र्विरामः । विरम्यतेऽनेनेति वा विरामः । सोऽवसानसंज्ञो भवति ॥

110. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasâna.

The word avasâna occurs in sûtra VIII. 3. 15 &c.

